

COURTENAY LIBRARY OF REFORMATION CLASSICS



# WILLIAM TYNDALE

Preface by PROFESSOR F. F. BRUCE

This is the first extensive selection for over a century from the writings of a man whose labours the Archbishop of York describes as 'of inestimable importance in the story of the English Bible'. Our own day has seen many new Bible translations, but so far a modern edition of this pioneer translator is lacking. As Tyndale is remembered 'primarily, and most justly, as a Bible translator' (Professor F. F. Bruce in the *Preface*), this volume concentrates on his biblical writings, providing complete or partial reproductions from his commentaries, theological treatises, and biblical prefaces together with all his extant letters and certain specimen translations. The whole edition is freshly edited with a new introduction condensing the latest Tyndale research. Material never previously available outside the circle of experts has also been included.

Apart from his permanent relevance as a Christian leader interpreting the Bible into the context of ordinary life, William Tyndale is important for at least three other reasons. First, as the pioneer in turning the biblical Greek and Hebrew into homely English, his work is still the basis of The Authorised, The Revised, and The Revised Standard versions of the Bible. Second, he is the most prominent of those English exiles who in Henry VIII's reign sent Protestant literature back to their native land, so encouraging the reading of the Bible and the spread of the Reformation. Third, his literary style has shaped the English language. He is 'the man who more than Shakespeare even or Bunyan has moulded and enriched our language' (S. L. Greenslade, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Oxford).

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This series is parallel to the one above, and aims at bringing the reader original studies of the Reformers. Each contributor will be an expert seeking to bring specialist knowledge to the general reading public. Learned and scholarly without being unduly technical, these studies will be of interest to ministers, students, and all others wishing to know more of the sixteenth century.

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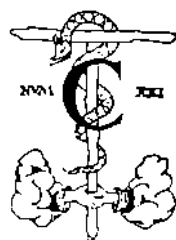
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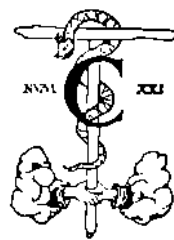
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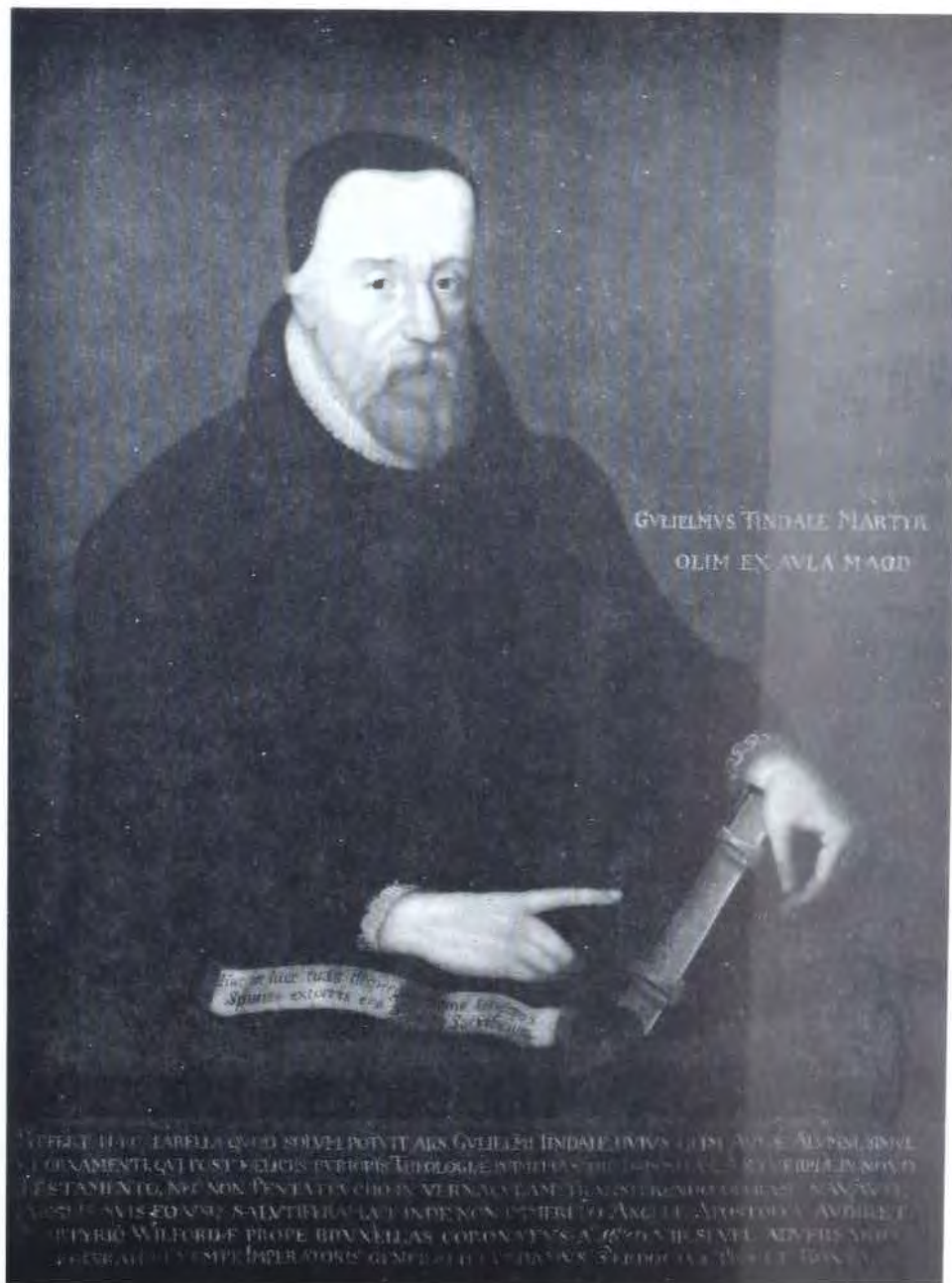
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*WILLIAM TYNDALE*



WILLIAM TYNDALE (?)

*Portrait by an unknown artist commonly assumed to be that of Tyndale and engraved as him in the Herwologia (1620), but Dr. R. Strong dates the costume to a decade or two after his death. No unquestioned portrait of Tyndale is known to exist.*

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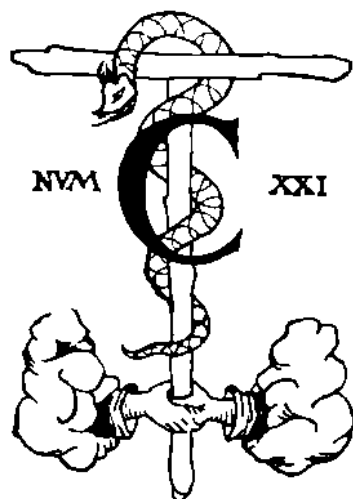
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# THE WORK OF WILLIAM TYNDALE

EDITED AND INTRODUCED BY  
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PREFACE BY  
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## PREFACE

THE translators of the Authorised Version of the English Bible, in their prefatory address 'To the Reader', pay a graceful tribute to their predecessors in the work of englishing the Bible: 'They deserve to be had of us and of posterity in everlasting remembrance.' Had those earlier translators not done their pioneer work, they imply, there would have been no Authorised Version in 1611. 'Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that break the ice, and give the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls.' But among those predecessors, the man who really broke the ice was William Tyndale—one of the greatest of Englishmen (if a Scot may be trusted to assess such a matter without bias).

It is primarily, and most justly, as a Bible translator that Tyndale is remembered. During the last eleven years of his life he published three editions of the complete New Testament in English, the Pentateuch, the book of Jonah, and a few other parts of the Old Testament. There is good reason to think that he left in manuscript a translation of the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to II Chronicles, which was published as part of 'Matthew's Bible' in 1537, the year after Tyndale's death. In the last word that we have from Tyndale himself, we find him eager to press on with the translation of the Old Testament, as during his last imprisonment he begs a man of influence to procure him permission to have his 'Hebrew bible, Hebrew grammar and Hebrew dictionary' with him in his cell.

No doubt Tyndale could have completed the translation of the Bible into English if he had concentrated on this work to the exclusion of everything else. From our point of view, it may seem a pity that he did not do so. But we must allow Tyndale to decide for himself where the path of duty lay; and he judged it necessary to contend earnestly for the Reformed faith and play his part with vigour in the theological and political disputation of the day. One of his works, *The*

*Obedience of a Christian Man*, found considerable favour with no less illustrious a reader than Henry VIII. The Bible must not only be translated; its teachings must be expounded and applied in a practical way. To such exposition and application Tyndale gave himself with a will, and in doing so he showed himself to be a master of the true canons of biblical interpretation and devoted to the basic principles of biblical ethics—justice and mercy.

There are some epochs in which work of this kind involves a man in controversy more than others; and the first half of the sixteenth century was such an epoch in Western Europe. Tyndale's work inevitably led him into sharp controversy, and no true impression of his activity would be given if his controversial writings were unrepresented in a volume like this. It gives us no pleasure today to contemplate two great and good Englishmen like Tyndale and More, men of principle who were both to give up their lives for conscience' sake, engaging in bitter polemic with each other. But, as they both believed, the issues for which they contended were issues in which men's souls were at stake; and they would have agreed on this at least, that the urbanities of modern theological debate betokened a failure to appreciate how serious the issues were.

A reprint of this kind is no mere archaeological curiosity; one who was so intensely a man of the Bible as Tyndale was speaks to more ages than his own, and in the following pages we shall find that he has much to say to us, if we pay heed to what we read.

F. F. BRUCE.

Faculty of Theology,  
University of Manchester.

*August, 1963.*



## EDITORIAL NOTE

To let Christians of the sixteenth century speak to those of the twentieth is the aim of *The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics*. Much writing and considerable controversy have centred round the Reformers over the years, but it is now becoming increasingly difficult for the ordinary reader to obtain copies of their works and so judge for himself. The Courtenay Press hopes to fill a gap in making the text available once again, together with sufficient introductory material and notes which, abreast of modern scholarship but not so extensive or technical as to frighten off the non-specialist, will enable him to find his way about the original works. We tend to forget that the Reformers in their day addressed themselves not only to scholars, but to the whole Christian reading public.

This first volume is devoted to William Tyndale,<sup>1</sup> one of the earliest of the English Reformers. It is not a complete edition of his works (an impossibility in the space available), but an extensive selection of his writings on the Bible—the area of his greatest and most lasting contribution. Most of the material is reproduced from the Parker Society<sup>2</sup> edition of his works, but to this have been added *inter alia* all Tyndale's extant letters, and extracts from his dispute with George Joye. No Reformer would approve the separation of Word and Sacrament, but none of Tyndale's sacramental writing has been included. The reason is twofold. First, his authorship of *The Supper of the Lord* is in serious doubt; second, a selection of sacramental writings as a separate volume is under consideration. Further, no extensive selection of Tyndale's translation work is included, as the text of his New Testament is available in the magnificent edition of the Cambridge Press (1938), and Mombert's edition of the Pentateuch is likely to be reprinted. The present volume contains, however, a wide selection of Tyndale's biblical writings, whether they concern translation, exposition, or discussion of the Bible itself.

The Editor wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the

help he has received from the Courtenay Library editorial advisers; from Professor F. F. Bruce; from Dr. R. Strong of *The National Portrait Gallery*, who supplied information on the frontispiece portrait; from Dr. Anthea Hume, whose unpublished thesis unfortunately came to his attention too late for extensive use; and from his wife.

<sup>1</sup> The name of Tyndale, who was known also by his other family name of Hitchens, has been spelt in various ways. The Reformer seems to have had little interest in consistent spelling generally! Throughout this volume the form 'Tyndale' is used, except in quotations, where the original is retained.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviated 'P.S.' hereafter. Purists have sometimes questioned the P.S. text, but extensive sampling testifies both to its accuracy and to its high standard of scholarship. The research student will necessarily have recourse to the original, and complete collation with the latter would have made this present volume inordinately expensive, but so that the reader may see the substantial accuracy of the P.S. text, here is a test sample:

In the 1534 Prologue to the Johannine Epistles the following small slips occur. *In this first epistle . . . is contained* is rendered for *This first epistle . . . containeth*. In paragraph 2 *a sect* for *a certain sect*; *denied* for *denieth*; *in* for *into*. None of these alters the sense. The only change of significance is *gospel* for *epistle* in line 3 of paragraph 1, but here the sense seems to demand it, suggesting that the original was a printer's error.

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# INTRODUCTION

## *William Tyndale, the Man and His Work*

‘THE genius of Tyndale shows itself in the fact that he was able to couch his translations in a language perfectly understood of the people and yet full of beauty and of dignity. If the language of the Authorised Version has deeply affected our English prose, it is to Tyndale that the praise is originally due.’<sup>1</sup> So wrote Sir Frederic Kenyon of Tyndale’s work on the English Bible, the major contribution of his comparatively short life. Yet outside a small circle of scholars very little is known of this pioneer of biblical translation. No large selection of his writings has been published for well over a century, and even the small selection edited by S. L. Greenslade before the war has been long out of print. No biography has been in print for some time, and the only reading material on Tyndale available to the general public consists of chapters tucked away in books on wider subjects. Curiously enough, all this comes at a time when great interest has been aroused in new Bible translations. But that in itself may be part of the reason for the neglect of Tyndale. Publishers and public alike have become so absorbed in new translations that they have forgotten the man who laid the foundations for all subsequent translations of the Bible into English.

Another reason for this neglect is to be seen in the comment of Professor Gordon Rupp that ‘The creative religious ferment in the English Reformation has been sadly underestimated by modern historians.’<sup>2</sup> No one would wish to return to the days when historians interpreted history according to their personal beliefs or philosophies, but, whatever a writer’s convictions, it is not fair to the facts to interpret the sixteenth century in the light of economics, political events, sociology, etc., with little or no reference to religion. This unbalanced secularist approach has found its way into a number of reputable publications including the new *Cambridge Modern History* series. In volume two on the Reformation Tyndale is mentioned on only five pages. In three of them his name is

more or less incidental (a list of Bible translators, a general reference to the doctrine of Luther and Tyndale, and a reference to Matthew's Bible). Of the other two, both from the editor's pen, one is a three-line factual statement that Tyndale went abroad and was burnt; the other says he would have remained a lost voice but for the King who hated him! So much for the contribution of the vernacular Bible to the Reformation. The first *Cambridge Modern History* series fifty years earlier did at least give a whole paragraph to the importance of Tyndale's biblical work, but even there the amount of space allotted to him is open to criticism.<sup>3</sup> The secularist bias of some modern scholars is perhaps a second reason for Tyndale's neglect.

A third can possibly be found in the shadows cast by the ecclesiastical controversies of the nineteenth century. One group of Christians tended to idolise the Reformers, accepting quite uncritically many of the later apocryphal tales, and writing books about them which verged on hagiography. At the same time another group oscillated between helittling them, often with an equally uncritical acceptance of the abuse thrown at them by their papal opponents, and trying to interpret them in the light of certain subjective criteria. The shadows cast by these disputes are beginning to creep away, and we may hope that the real historical figures will be seen once again for what they were, faults included as well as virtues.

One of the exceptions to this twentieth-century neglect of Tyndale was the work of A. W. Pollard, who wrote an introduction to a facsimile edition of the 1525 Cologne fragment of the New Testament, and who had earlier edited an invaluable selection of texts entitled *Records of the English Bible*, but these were works for the experts, and are now unobtainable. *The Times Literary Supplement* for 4 June 1925 reached a wider audience with its leading article on 'Tindale's Bible', but the tone was cool and the historical reliability below the usual standard of that periodical. 'It is easy to exaggerate the historical importance of Tindale's venture. He was accidentally a pioneer,' wrote the anonymous author, who goes on to imply that the authorities had intended to produce an English Bible anyhow. This we may doubt, for when Tyndale was thinking of a translation, Edward Lee, Arch-



bishop of York, had just launched a fierce attack on Erasmus's New Testament—and Tunstall, otherwise a patron of learning, had refused point-blank to help Tyndale. It is true Stephen Gardiner and More tried their hands at translating, but nothing was ever published. The author then shrugs off the dispute between Tyndale and More without realising, as J. F. Mozley did later,<sup>4</sup> that behind the issues of biblical translation were fundamentals of theology. He considers that only one definite borrowing from Luther can be established in Tyndale's translation, accuses him of a false antithesis between the natural and the spiritual, and ends with this conclusion: 'He was the father, not indeed of the Puritans, who leaned on Calvin, but of those other Puritans who produced the Family of Love, Brownists, and Anabaptists.' Tyndale would have been horrified to be linked with these folk, who are now generally all classed as Anabaptists, and modern research has recently been establishing the very thing the author denies.<sup>5</sup>

*The Times Literary Supplement* did fuller justice to Tyndale on the fourth centenary of his death. On 3 October 1936 a leading article appeared on 'Tyndale and Our Bible'. The history was better, and the author showed an understanding of Tyndale's contribution both to Bible translation and to English literature. But it remained for J. F. Mozley to provide in 1937 the second great exception to twentieth century neglect of Tyndale. His scholarly volume has become the standard biography.

### *His Life*

Only the briefest account is necessary here, for the biography of Mozley and the older work of Demaus are to be found in most libraries. Tyndale's own writings provide singularly few biographical details, for, like Calvin after him, he was so absorbed with biblical exposition that he deliberately kept himself out of the picture. Bishop Marcus Loane writes, 'It was Tyndale's glory that he made the Bible speak for God to the hearts of the common people, while he remained wholly anonymous.'<sup>6</sup> In consequence precise information for certain periods of his life is lacking. He was born soon after 1490 'about the borders of Wales' according to Foxe.<sup>7</sup>

The exact place is unknown but generally assumed to be in the Vale of Berkeley on the borders of Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford (now incorporated into Hertford College), took his B.A. in 1512 and his M.A. in 1515. After that he moved to Cambridge, where he imbibed some of the learning of Erasmus, who had left Queens' College in 1514. From Cambridge he returned to the west country as tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury Manor. It must have been there that he first conceived the idea of translating the Bible, for an impoverished scholar would hardly have left the great libraries if he had been set on translation before he returned west.

Tyndale formed a low opinion of the ignorant priests of the locality whom he met at Sir John's dinner table, and in order to win the Walshes round from such obscurantists he translated Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. They were convinced by it, but by now Tyndale's thoughts had moved on, for he perceived that 'it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue.'<sup>8</sup> The influence of Erasmus was seen, when in the course of an argument with some of the local priests Tyndale declared he cared not for the Pope's laws, but 'if God spare my life, ere many years pass, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou dost.'<sup>9</sup>

Serious biblical translation meant he must move. Armed with a translation he had made of an Isocrates oration and a letter from Sir John to Sir Henry Guildford, Controller of the King's Household, Tyndale set out for London, hoping to gain the patronage of Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, the friend of Erasmus. Tunstall was a learned man, interested in mathematics, but he was also an ecclesiastical diplomat who knew what was happening in Germany, and that outbursts had occurred at Louvain and elsewhere against Erasmus's New Testament. From him Tyndale found no help; indeed from that source there came later much abuse and criticism. But assistance did come from a merchant, one Humphrey Monmouth, who had heard Tyndale preach in St Dunstan's, Fleet Street. Monmouth helped both then, and later when Tyndale was abroad. A few months in London were enough to convince

him that 'not only there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England.'<sup>10</sup> And so in 1524 he sailed for Hamburg, never to return to English shores.

Sir Thomas More relates that Tyndale was distinguished 'before he went over the sea for a man of right good living, studious and well learned in Scripture.'<sup>11</sup> But that learning can hardly have come from his University education, for he himself writes, 'In the Universities they have ordained that no man shall look on the Scripture until he be noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with false principles with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the Scripture.'<sup>12</sup>

Our knowledge of Tyndale's movements on the Continent is incomplete. After reaching Hamburg he moved around Germany, either visiting Wittenberg or staying in the Rhineland,<sup>13</sup> before he settled in Cologne to see his New Testament through the press. When the authorities raided the printer's building, he was warned just in time. Gathering up some of the leaves, he fled up the Rhine to Worms, a city in which the Reformation was better received. There the first complete English New Testament was printed. Shortly after this Antwerp became the centre of his activities, except when he retired briefly to Hamburg again to avert imminent danger. His final eighteen months were spent near Brussels in the gloomy cells of Vilvorde castle prison, where he was taken after being lured from the comparative safety of the house of the English merchants in Antwerp by the treachery of a fellow-Englishman, Henry Phillips. In October 1536, while still in his early forties William Tyndale was publicly strangled and his body burnt.

### *Bible Translations*

Tyndale was not the first man to turn the Bible into English, but he was the first to produce a printed version of the New Testament in English, and whereas the various mediaeval translations were from Latin, he was the first to translate the Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew. Mediaeval and Lollard translations had existed before Tyndale's day, but they must have been bulky and costly manuscripts.

Despite this their spread among the Lollards had been successful enough by 1408 to frighten Archbishop Arundel's Convocation into a decision to ban all unauthorised translations. The hierarchy guarded their monopoly for over a century, and, whatever the influence of Renaissance humanism in men like John Colet, the events of Germany had made the ecclesiastical authorities even more set against translations by the early 1520's. Tyndale reminds More how the followers of Duns Scotus had 'raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew', and the same people were not anxious for the Bible in the vernacular either. Nevertheless Foxe testifies to the popular demand for the Bible. Writing of 1520 he says:

'The fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing: also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English, of whom some gave five marks, some more, some less, for a book; some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James or of St. Paul in English.'<sup>14</sup>

Tyndale therefore went ahead on his own, and by 1525 together with his assistant William Roye he was seeing his manuscript through Peter Quentel's press in Cologne. The printing had advanced as far as the letter K in the printer's sheets, when John Dobneck heard of what was happening. Through his friend Hermann Rinck, a Cologne senator, Cochlaeus (Dobneck's best-known name) prevailed on the magistrates to seize the leaves. He later said he heard of the printing through one of the printing assistants who was the worse for drink. This was probably Roye, who helped with the proofs and corrections in this venture which the English merchants financed. Roye was an observant friar from Greenwich, who had fled abroad in 1525. He was a boastful and arrogant fellow. Tyndale has left his impressions of him in the preface to *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*:

'A man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known . . . As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write, and to help me to compare the texts together.'<sup>15</sup>

Later Roye teamed up with another Greenwich friar, Jerome Barlowe, and produced scurrilous satires against Wolsey,

Cochlaeus and others. Of this sort of activity Tyndale did not approve. Roye's gossip and boastfulness had given Cochlaeus his lead, and that no doubt accounts for Tyndale's sentiments in the preface.

The only extant copy of this Cologne printing is the fragment in the British Museum among the Grenville Collection. It was found in 1834 bound up with a tract by Oecolampadius, and was bought in London by Thomas Grenville, who gave it to the Museum. This fragment extends to Mt. xxii. 12, but only includes the printer's folios A to H. It is quarto in size, and contains marginal glosses and cross references.

The Worms edition of 1526 was the first complete New Testament in English. Of this two copies survive, one in Bristol Baptist College discovered in 1740 by the Earl of Oxford's agent, and the other in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Octavo in size, it lacks both glosses and cross references. The text is the same except for a few corrections in spelling such as *when* for *wen* (Mt. v. 1), *thincke* for *thinke* (Mt. vi. 7), and *to gedder* for *to gyddre* (Mt. vi. 20). According to a note in Spalatin's diary for 11 August 1526, the humanist Hermann von dem Busche (Buschius) told him that six thousand copies were printed at Worms, but Tyndale intended this version as only temporary, and stated in his epistle to the reader, attached at the end, that he planned a revision. That did not come until 1534, because he was drawn away into other activities, and had turned his attention to Hebrew studies and translating the Old Testament.

The first Old Testament translation to appear was the Pentateuch, dated to January 1530 according to the colophon attached to Genesis. It would have been finished earlier, but for the loss of his manuscripts in a shipwreck as he was journeying to Hamburg. He made good the loss while staying in that city with a widow Margaret von Emmerson. As soon as the task was complete, he hurried back to Antwerp, where the work was printed. Some mystery surrounds this edition, since two distinct types appear in the same book. Genesis and Numbers are in the usual black type, but the other books are in Roman lettering. Probably two presses were used in the rush, but some evidence suggests that the five books circulated independently as well as together. A

further peculiarity is the fact that illustrations appear only in the book of Exodus. The following year Tyndale published a translation of Jonah; in 1534 he revised Genesis, and attached some Old Testament readings from the Sarum Lectionary<sup>16</sup> to the end of his revised New Testament; and according to a persistent and generally accepted tradition he left Joshua to II Chronicles in manuscript with John Rogers.

### *Reactions and Criticisms*

The English hierarchy reacted swiftly to the New Testaments. By October 1526 Tunstall had ordered his archdeacons to have the heretical books called in within thirty days on pain of excommunication. We know he referred to both editions because he mentioned 'some with glosses, some without glosses.' The month following Archbishop Warham took similar action, and the offending books were ceremoniously burned at St. Paul's Cross when Tunstall preached the sermon and asserted that he could find over three thousand errors in the translation. These measures failed, and the popularity of the New Testaments is shown by the various pirate editions which kept appearing from the Endhoven press in Antwerp. Though the errors increased in each edition due to the Dutch printers' ignorance of English, they continued to sell quickly. By May 1527 Warham, urged on by Ambassador John Hackett, was trying another antidote. He sought to buy up the New Testaments, and on May 26 asked his suffragans to help with the bill of £62-9-4. (Pollard estimates the price of the Worms edition to have been 1s. 8d. in sheets and 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d. bound.)<sup>17</sup> In reality he was only financing further editions.

Detailed written criticism of Tyndale's translation came from More, who on 7 March 1528 had been licensed by Tunstall to read heretical books in order to confute them. More is, as Mozley says,<sup>4</sup> very much a double figure, though in most writings about him he appears mainly as a noble humanist scholar, a saint, and a martyr for his convictions. So he was, but against this must be set, if we are to see the More of history, the man who abused Tyndale and the scholar who descended to sheer bluster and prejudice when he lacked genuine arguments. Tunstall had not mentioned Tyndale



by name, but More knew who was 'captain of the English heretics', and by June the following year he had written his *Dialogue . . . against the Pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale*, a book of 153 pages. Both Mores appeared in the book. At times he was the witty polished humanist, prepared to allow the Bible in English, but at other times he was the meek and blind follower of ecclesiastical shibboleths, who had to compromise his earlier statement by adding that bishops should keep all the copies in their own hands, lending them out to safe men, collecting them afterwards, and often allowing people only parts of the Bible. More is too wary to come out into the open and condemn ecclesiastical corruption. His book has three main topics, the Bible, the church and the cult of the saints. Abuse is mixed with argument, and the former grew at the expense of the latter as his controversy with Tyndale wore on. Tyndale is a deceiver, a hypocrite, 'puffed up with the poison of pride, malice and envy', and so on. It should be remembered that thus far Tyndale had said nothing about More. He had not even mentioned his name.

According to More, Tyndale had followed Luther, and the two of them together had perverted the doctrine of Christ into 'the devilish heresies of their own'. After some bombastic denunciation of the many errors in translation, the basis of the accusation is seen to be the mistranslation of a few key words. In his *Answer* (1531) Tyndale is stung into some counter-abuse, though of a milder sort, from which he cannot be wholly exonerated, but in the arguments he wins every time. With customary directness he goes straight to the real point. More attempted a reply which ran eventually to nine volumes, but at the end of the final section, his *Apology*, he somewhat pathetically admits that men felt his book too long and tedious to read, and that they did not appreciate his arguments. More was beaten. C. S. Lewis comments:

'He is monotonously anxious to conquer and to conquer equally, at every moment: to show in every chapter that every heretical book is wrong about everything—wrong in history, in logic, in rhetoric, and in English grammar as well as in Theology . . . to rebuke magnificently is one of the duties of a great polemical writer. More often attempts it, but he always fails.'<sup>18</sup>

A few examples of the controversy must suffice here. More objects to *presbyter* being translated *senior*, which he

maintains is a Latin or French word but not an English one. With real humility Tyndale shows he is willing to learn from others, and so he agrees, though he adds—quite fairly—that he had come to that conclusion independently, and had already made the change—in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*. But More's point is only secondary. As in most other cases, his real reason is theological. When Tyndale translates *elder*, he does not like that any better than *senior*, and complains that the Christian minister is robbed of his true title. But linguistically Tyndale was on strong ground, translating *hiericus priest*, and *presbyter senior* whether it applied to Jew or Christian. More could not evade the counter-charge that Jerome and Erasmus, both of whom he had praised, used *senior* and *presbyter*, but reserved *sacerdos* for the Jewish levitical priests. All More could do was to try to laugh it off.

He took objection so to Tyndale's translating *ecclesia* as *congregation*. He said it introduced heretical novelty, but Tyndale knew that in current parlance the word church usually meant the clergy or the ecclesiastical hierarchy (compare the theologically erroneous modern usage in the phrase 'entering the church' for becoming a clergyman). He was compelled to find an alternative, and in his choice he can at least claim the support of Jerome and the Septuagint. Tyndale knew that in the Bible *ecclesia* referred to God's people, not merely to the clergy. If More was concerned about novelty, why, Tyndale asked, had he not 'contended in like wise against his darling Erasmus all this long while'? Again, More could not answer that. Similar objections were taken to the use of *favour* instead of *grace*, *love* instead of *charity*, and *repentance* instead of *penance*. Throughout, the issues that matter are almost always theological. More is afraid that Tyndale's New Testament will undermine the ecclesiastical *status quo*.

One reason for the accusations of Lutheran innovation, as Pollard notes, was 'his entirely honest attempt to find new renderings for certain Greek words of which the customary English equivalents had acquired, in the course of fourteen centuries of ecclesiastical use, technical associations which he believed were not present in the minds of the Evangelists'. Tyndale's view of the translations is recorded with transparent honesty in a letter to Frith:

'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour or riches, might be given me.'<sup>19</sup>

### *Tyndale as a Translator*

According to Spalatin, Buschius reported that the Worms New Testament had been translated by a man 'who is so skilled in seven tongues, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he speaks you might think it his native tongue'. This almost certainly refers to Tyndale,<sup>20</sup> though the absence of German is surprising. We know that he used German sources, so perhaps it was taken for granted as the language in which the men were conversing at the time. Whatever the reason for this omission, Buschius's words are testimony to Tyndale's linguistic ability, which stood him in good stead as a translator.

In the New Testament Tyndale's primary source was Erasmus's Greek, and no one today seriously doubts Tyndale's claim that he translated out of the original Greek.<sup>21</sup> Scholars generally have endorsed Westcott's observation, 'It is impossible to read through a single chapter without gaining the assurance that Tindale rendered the Greek text directly.'<sup>22</sup> That he was sure of his own grasp of the language is clear from the confident manner in which he could clinch an argument with so able a linguist as More. 'These things to be even so, M. More knoweth well enough: for he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them long ere I.'<sup>23</sup> The Greek text he used most frequently was the third edition of Erasmus dating from 1522. This differed considerably from the 1516 first edition, but not so much from the second of 1519. For example, Tyndale inserted the famous passage about the heavenly witnesses at I Jn. v. 7 in his 1534 New Testament, and he must have taken it from Erasmus 1522, for it does not appear in the earlier editions. On the other hand, in a few places he follows the 1519 Erasmus against 1522. At Jas. iv. 2 he has *you envy*, the reading of 1519, whereas the first and third Erasmus New Testaments have *phoneuete* (you kill). Rom. xii. 11 is a more doubtful case. Tyndale has *apply yourselves to the time*, which translates Erasmus 1519, but it

also appears in Luther's text, so he could have taken it from either source.

The second source Tyndale had was the Latin translation Erasmus had made of his own Greek, which seems to have influenced Tyndale here and there, e.g. at Eph. iv. 27 where his *backbiter* looks like Erasmus's *calumniatori*. It cannot have come from the Vulgate which reads *diabolo*.

Luther's German New Testament of 1522 provided his third source, though it in turn was based on Erasmus's Greek. The 1525 Cologne fragment shows Luther's influence. The prologue there contains a translation or paraphrase of about half of Luther's preface, while more than half of the ninety-two glosses come from Luther (in fact he used fifty-five of Luther's sixty-seven on Mt. i-xxii. 12), most of them straight translations. In the New Testament text itself Tyndale takes over Luther's translation of *psuchikos* in I Corinthians. Luther wrote *natürlich*, and Tyndale *natural*. The phrase *natural man* has become a standard theological term, but it stems from Luther through Tyndale. Luther's influence can be detected behind a number of Tyndale's translations. Here are a few examples. *On the hills was a voice heard* (cf. Luther's *auf dem gebirge . . .*), Mt. ii. 18; *the place of dead men's skulls*, Jn. xix. 17; *ye vex yourselves off a true meaning*, II Cor. vi. 12; *doctors in the scripture*, I Tim. i. 7; and *hosianna*, Mt. xxi. 15, is straight out of Luther. Of the non-Greek sources Luther was by far the most influential, though in some cases we cannot rule out the possibility that the two men may have reached the same conclusion independently.

The influence of the Vulgate, Tyndale's other source, was small. He rarely follows its peculiar readings. For example, the Vulgate has at Lu. xvi. 21 *two men shall be in the field*, but Tyndale omits it. At Mt. vi. 1 where the Vulgate has *justitiam*, Tyndale translates *alms*, not righteousness. At Mt. vi. 11 Tyndale ignores the Latin *supersubstantialem* and translates *our daily bread*. On the other hand a *pinnacle of the temple* (Mt. iv. 5) comes from the Vulgate, and perhaps also *tinckling cymbal* (I Cor. xiii. 1).

Despite occasional attempts to prove the contrary, Tyndale did not use the Wyclif Bible. He states in the 1526 Epistle to the reader 'I had no man to counterfeit [imitate], neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted

the same or such like thing in the scripture beforetime.'<sup>24</sup> The most that can be said of Lollard influence is that its general phraseology may have affected Tyndale from his early days in the west country, where Wyclifite influence was strong.

In sum, Tyndale works basically from the Greek, but uses Luther, Erasmus's Latin and occasionally the Vulgate. Yet the most noteworthy characteristic of Tyndale as a translator is his scholarly independence and critical use of all his sources. It would not be hard to produce a long list of examples, but two must suffice here. In Jn. xiv. 1 Tyndale alone makes the verb imperative, *Believe in God, and believe in me*. Again, Gal. i. 7 . . . *another Gospel: which is nothing else, but that there be some which trouble you. For nothing else, but that* the other versions read *not another; but that*. Westcott underlines Tyndale's independence thus,

'If he used the Vulgate or Erasmus or Luther it was with the judgment of the scholar. His complete independence in this respect is the more remarkable from the profound influence which Luther exerted upon his writings generally. The extent to which Tyndale silently incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has escaped the notice of his editors.'<sup>25</sup>

No one has yet discovered what grammars and dictionaries Tyndale used, but Aleander's *Lexicon Graeco Latinum* was published in Paris in 1512, and the following year Aldus printed Buddaeus' *Institutiones Grammaticae*. Later Buddaeus added his *Commentaries*; Erasmus's New Testament annotations were available as well as various linguistic publications from the previous century. Of Tyndale's learning and scholarly ability there can be no doubt. Inadvertently George Joye, his opponent, paid tribute to this when he declared he was not afraid to take issue with Tyndale 'for all his high learning in Hebrew, Greek and Latin'.

His Hebrew knowledge may sound rather rustic to modern experts, but by the standards of his day he was as good as most scholars. He is quite prepared to bring Hebrew into New Testament discussions, and in the prologue to Matthew he refers to common Hebrew usage and the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech.<sup>26</sup> We do not know where Tyndale learnt his Hebrew or what grammars and dictionaries he used, though we do know he valued these from the one letter extant

in his own handwriting.<sup>27</sup> Sebastian Munster had published a dictionary in 1525 and a Chaldee Grammar two years later, while Pagninus produced his *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* in 1529, and had turned the Old Testament into Latin the year before. Of earlier works Reuchlin had published a dictionary in 1506, and Conrad Pellican wrote the first Hebrew grammar as early as 1503. 1517 and 1525 saw the publication of the great Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg, which contained the targums and many early Jewish comments on the text. Tyndale had the Vulgate, the Old Testament in German from Luther's pen (of which the Pentateuch had appeared in 1523), and the Septuagint to supplement his Hebrew text. It would be interesting to know whether he had the 1529 Zurich Bible, produced by Zwingli, Leo Judd and Pellican, but, so far as I am aware, no one has collated this with Tyndale yet. Recent researches have shown remarkable parallels with the Swiss theologians, especially in their common covenantal interests. The 1530 Pentateuch shows this covenantal influence, and the Zurich Bible might be one of the links.

Tyndale discusses the meaning of Hebrew words in the tables which he appends to various translations, and he does this, as he explains, for the benefit of the ordinary reader. He can also discuss the peculiarities of Hebrew tenses,<sup>28</sup> and compare the properties of Hebrew with those of English and Latin.<sup>29</sup> In Jonah i. 4 he catches the vividness of the Hebrew verb by translating *The Lord hurled a great wind*, while none of the other translations spotted this. In Num. vi. he translates Nazarite by *abstainer*, alluding to what he took to be the original meaning. Various words he explains; for example, he says Pharisee means separated, Pesach passing by, Hormah destruction, and Caleb perfect (applied to sacrifice). In Gen. xli. 43 he shows his independence of other versions by indicating that the Hebrew is in the imperative.<sup>30</sup> He attempts numerous derivations (about fifty altogether), and though he did not always select the right Hebrew root, his very mistakes demonstrate the same scholarly independence already noted in the New Testament field. A number of his translations have found their way into both the A.V. and the R.V. Such are 'My spirit shall not always *strive with a man*', Gen. vi. 3, and 'Israel *coupled himself* unto Baal-Peor', Num. xxv. 3.



The more one looks at Tyndale's translations, the more the impression of his independence of judgment grows, and, as Mozley says of the similarities with other versions, 'Agreements may proceed from a common standpoint and a common method rather than a slavish imitation.'<sup>31</sup> In both Old and New Testaments a certain looseness of translation characterises Tyndale, especially with connecting particles. This is a greater defect in his New Testament, because Greek is a language which uses particles carefully and with subtle shades of meaning, whereas Hebrew has fewer particles and is much more free in its use of them. But Tyndale realised his own shortcomings to some extent, for the 1534 revision of the New Testament shows an improvement in his translation of particles.

His love of a free and loose translation meant that he felt able to change the rather cumbersome *it came to pass* into simpler phrases like *it chanced* or *it happened*. He did not feel bound to translate the same word in the original always by the same English word, and at times almost seems to be searching for variety. The impression created is of a translator constantly looking round for better ways of conveying the meaning of the original to the ordinary reader. This means that when he comes to commentating on the Sermon on the Mount or I John he does not turn to his own translation but translates afresh from the original. The same is true of the Old Testament epistles appended to his 1534 New Testament. They contain many small variants from his translations previously published.

This concern to get the message across accounts for the homely allusions in his translation. In Rev. xviii. 12 he speaks of *pearls and raynes*, the latter being a linen from Rennes in Brittany. In Lu. iii. 1 Pilate is a *lieutenant of Jewry*. In Lu. ii. 3 everyone goes to his own *shire town*. But the 1534 revision changes this into *city*, just as the *under captain* of 1526 becomes a *centurion* in 1534.

Tyndale was a master of rhythm, and his rhythm is that of spoken not literary English. As G. D. Bone writes, 'There is no vestige of literariness in his writings . . . there is no trace of writing for effect.'<sup>32</sup> His language is that of the ordinary people, though it never becomes debased. Many familiar A.V. phrases are originally Tyndale's; here are a few examples. *Wise in your own conceits*, Rom. xi. 25; *take thine ease, eat,*

*drink, and be merry*, Lu. xii. 19; *borne the burden and heat of the day*, Mt. xx. 12. Certain very familiar words also stem from Tyndale, *passover*, *scapegoat*, *mercy seat*, and *atonement*<sup>33</sup> among them. He has his quaint phrases too. In Gen. vi. 4 there were *tyrants* in the world in those days. In Gen. xxxix. 2 Joseph was a *lucky fellow*, and in II Sam. xxii. 39 we read *I wasted them, and so clouted them that they could not arise*. Tyndale shows none of the pompous Latin prose style which was in fashion at the time. He wants to tell the ordinary man what the Bible says, and so he is colloquial. His language is simple, terse, idiomatic and homely, though occasionally he tries to achieve the same effect by a paraphrase. Thus in Tit. i. 6 we read in 1526 *If any be such as no man can complain on . . .* but by 1534 he had thought better of this clumsy paraphrase and changed it to the simpler *If any be faultless . . .* Another habit of Tyndale's is to repeat the antecedent noun in the relative clause. Thus Tit. i. 2 reads *the hope of eternal life, which life . . .* and I Pet. i. 5 reads *unto health, which health*. In 1534 he changed *health* into *salvation*, but he kept the repetition.

A further example of Tyndale's looseness in translation is found in the occasional substitution of God for Christ or God for Lord. In Mt. vi. 33 there is *kingdom of heaven* (cf. Latin *dei*); in Mt. viii. 35 we find *love of God* (cf. Latin *Christi*). The looseness and tendency to paraphrase is a weakness in Tyndale, but before it is condemned too readily, we should note that Tyndale himself shows signs of correcting this in his revisions, and that the very looseness itself arose out of his desire to communicate the meaning to the ordinary people as best he could.

As a reviser Tyndale was a careful worker. The majority of his changes in the 1534 New Testament revision aimed either at improving the English or at bringing the translation nearer the Greek.<sup>34</sup> Obscurities are removed. Eating *Pascha* becomes eating *the paschal lamb* (Jn. xviii. 28) and *the gelded man* becomes *the chamberlain* (Ac. viii. 34). He adopts a few new readings, mostly from Erasmus, but I Jn. iii. 19 seems to come from Luther. 1526 reads *will before him put our hearts out of doubt*, but 1534 reads *can before him quiet our hearts*, taken from Luther's *dass wir . . . können unser Hertz für ihm stillen*. One or two phrases well known from the A.V. make

their first appearance in 1534. An example is found at Eph. v. 19 where the awkward *playing to the Lord* becomes in 1534 *making melody to the Lord*, itself a much more melodious rendering.

A word must be said about the marginal glosses in Tyndale's translations, for they have sometimes been blamed for the outcry against his translations as a whole. In the 1525 fragment more than half came straight from Luther, but nonetheless they were expository rather than polemical. The 1526 New Testament had none, though glosses were restored in 1534. Polemical glosses first appear in the 1530 Pentateuch, but even there most of them are expository and deal with the content of the passage rather than the contemporary application. Among the polemical glosses some are satirical, especially those against clerical greed like *That is a good text for the Pope* at Ex. xxxiv. 20; some are allusive like that at Gen. xxiv. 60 where to bless is to pray for and wish a man well, 'not to wag two fingers over him', alluding to episcopal benediction. Against Lev. xxi. 5 the tonsure is censured, and the 1534 New Testament has *a good lesson for monks and idle friars* against I Thess. iv. 2. This sort of gloss is not typical, though other examples occur at Lu. ix. 4 and I Cor. xiv. 16. Much more typical is that against Tit. i. 7 *Bishops and elders is all one and an officer chosen to govern the congregation in doctrine and living*. Here as usual the meaning is expository.

### *Tyndale and Joye*

Tyndale's last days of freedom were darkened by a dispute with a fellow-Protestant, George Joye. Joye was a Bedfordshire man, a graduate of Cambridge, and a fellow of Peterhouse from 1517. Ten years later he was charged with heresy, but preferred to flee abroad rather than appear in London. He was an energetic man who translated a fair amount of the Old Testament, wrote commentaries and treatises, and even translated a prayer book into English. His controversy with Tyndale is illustrated by the documents in chapter IV, which appear in modern English for the first time in this edition.

The story begins with the press of Christopher van Endhoven in Antwerp, which had pirated Tyndale's New Testament

frequently from 1526 on. The second edition came about 1530, and together the two editions made up about five thousand books. Joye says they were all sold by the end of 1533, despite their many errors. Endhoven himself died in Westminster prison where he had been placed in 1531, but his widow Catharyn carried on the business. She brought out another pirate edition early in 1534, and planned a fourth later that year, for which the aid of Joye was sought. In August the work appeared just as Tyndale was completing his own revision, which was published in November.

Tyndale regarded Joye's activities as a breach of friendship, since Joye knew Tyndale was making his own revision. But Tyndale was more annoyed with Joye's theological eisegesis, which he passed off anonymously, thereby giving the impression that it was Tyndale's work. Tyndale's 1534 revised New Testament contained as a last minute addition a second epistle to the reader, warning him against Joye's activities. Joye replied by reprinting his pirate revision early in 1535 and following it up with his *Apology* soon afterwards. This work gave his side of the story.

Only one copy of Joye's 1534 revision is extant. It is in the British Museum. No name appears on the title page, and there are no notes or glosses, but at the end are added a kalendar, references and a table of epistles. Joye, who was not well up in Greek, not only corrected the printers' errors but made his own alterations from the Vulgate, and in various places changed the word *resurrection* into *life after this life*, or something similar. The background of this change was the dispute as to what happened to souls between death and the judgment day. This dispute arose in its turn out of the conflict about the cult of the departed saints. The Reformers were often accused of maintaining that souls slept after death. More accused Tyndale of this, but the latter replied that he was agnostic about that question. Joye may have taken such agnosticism as dangerously near accepting the idea of soul-sleep, hence his emendations.

It is not easy to reconstruct what happened, as we have only Joye's account, but friends sought to mediate after the publication of Tyndale's warning to the readers. Apparently Joye kept pestering Tyndale, who finally asked him for his views, saying he would submit them, together with his own

replies, to the judgment of Dr. Robert Barnes, a Cambridge Augustinian friar who had joined the Reformers and was then in Antwerp, and of Aepinus, a learned minister in Hamburg. Tyndale probably agreed to modify his epistle which had upset Joye, but Joye misconstrued this, thinking Tyndale would retract everything. Tyndale kept his bargain by suppressing the epistle in his 1535 New Testament (further revised) published by Godfrey van der Haghen. Joye was not satisfied and published *An Apology made by G. Joye to satisfy (if it may be) W. Tyndale, to purge and defend himself against so many slanderous lies feigned upon him in Tyndale's uncharitable and unsober epistle*. It was an intemperate book, full of repetition and incoherent arguments. Joye keeps returning to his great theme that Scripture is plain and Tyndale is wrong, though little proof is offered! Joye shows himself small-minded, mean and rather hypocritical. It is true that Tyndale had used strong words, but as with More, he did not initiate the dispute, nor did he use such strong language as either opponent.

Tyndale was not by choice a controversialist, and only entered this field to defend himself when attacked. His concern was more for positive and constructive exposition and his basic love of peace came out in his condemnation of the writings of Roye and Barlowe. In the preface to the *Mammon* he had written:

'Paul saith, The servant of the Lord must not strive, but he peaceable unto all men, and ready to teach, and one that can suffer the evil with meekness . . . It becometh not then the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's word; which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice, and all iniquity.'<sup>35</sup>

The dispute with Joye is not very edifying, but it illustrates both the problem of pirate editions in pre-copyright days and is one further example of the many difficulties under which Tyndale had to work. As regards anonymous works, Tyndale has left us his views in the same preface

'The cause why I set my name before this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men (Mt. vi.) to do their good deeds secretly . . . and now would I fain have done likewise, but am compelled otherwise to do.'<sup>36</sup>

His objection to Joye's anonymity was that he passed off his own theological idiosyncrasies as another man's work.

*Other Writings*

As this edition of Tyndale's works includes extracts from his more general theological writings, a few words must be said about them. The two most important of them appeared in 1528. The first was *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* dated by the colophon to May 8. The work, duhhed by More 'very *mammona iniquitatis*', is an exposition of justification by faith alone, taking the parable of the unjust steward as its starting point, and expounding texts in support as well as those usually cited against the doctrine. This theme comes from a sermon preached by Luther on 17 August 1522 and subsequently published both as it was preached and in a revised form. Tyndale used the latter version. He paraphrases Luther in some places, and translates him in others, but much else of his own is included, and he is quite prepared to ignore parts of Luther or change his order around. The *Mammon* is far from being copied from Luther.<sup>37</sup>

The second work was *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, the first copies of which are dated 'October 2. This was one of Tyndale's greatest books. It arose out of his concern to refute the charge that the Reformers 'caused insurrection, and taught the people to disobey their heads and governors, and to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havoc of other men's goods'. The charge might have been fair against Anabaptists, but not against Reformers. In reply Tyndale shows it was the Pope who claimed superiority over all civil rulers, excommunicated kings, interdicted nations, etc. This book brought out two Reformed tenets, the supremacy of the Bible in the Church and the King in the State. The preface encourages those who are persecuted for their biblical faith, and explains why the Bible should be in the vernacular.<sup>38</sup> The prologue enunciates the main theme of obedience to properly constituted authority, whether in civil or domestic life. This principle can only be overruled when loyalty to God is involved, and then the Christian duty is passive disobedience. The book, which illustrates Tyndale's positive concerns, and removes the popular misconception that he was a mere iconoclastic protester, was approved by Henry VIII after Anne Boleyn had shown it to him, but More described it as a 'holy book of disobedience' teaching

men to disobey the church. Both these books of 1528 were widely read, and we know they exercised considerable influence. They were responsible, for example, for Richard Bayfield's joining the Reformers.

It is necessary to warn the reader that Mozley's comments on the main theme of the *Obedience* are not wholly reliable. On p. 141f. of his otherwise excellent work Mozley fails to realise that what later became known as obedience to the godly prince was to the Reformers a *theological principle*. It is therefore misleading to speak of Tyndale giving 'sound advice' in the current situation. He was rather expounding a principle in which he believed, and when Mozley writes of the fulsome compliments and overstrained humilities of men like Cranmer, the principle of the godly prince has clearly slipped his mind. To speak of the godly prince doctrine in Tyndale's day may be a little anachronistic, for the term is usually reserved for the developed form of the doctrine, but most of the characteristics are present in Tyndale in embryonic form, the supremacy of the king, the idea of one law to a nation, etc. To write of expediency, weakness and good advice is misleading, and only contributes further to this widespread misconception.

In 1530 appeared *The Practice of the Prelates*, Tyndale's last work from the Hoochstraten press. It deals with the way the papacy has corrupted the church and with the King's matter, where once again Tyndale shows his independence by opposing almost every other Reformer in his view of the divorce. He agrees that Mt. 5. 31f. allows divorce, but he decided that Catherine's marriage was permissible, and that therefore no case for divorce existed. This work is his most polemical, though mingled with the polemics is some fine vigorous prose such as his famous ivy vine simile, in which he likens the gradual papal corruption of the church over the centuries to the slow advance of the ivy up a gigantic tree.<sup>39</sup> The simile, quite in the class of a Virgil or a Marlowe, indicates his philosophy of history. This may seem very partisan by our standards, and his vehemence is to be regretted, but it remains legitimate for a Christian who holds that God is Lord of history to interpret it with the fortunes of God's people as its centre point. From his viewpoint this is what Tyndale did, though he was misinformed on the English

political situation at the time.<sup>40</sup> It is not surprising that modern scholars cannot find the historical references, for Tyndale himself indicates that he quotes from memory (e.g. p. 326) which is understandable in his circumstances abroad when he is citing examples of English history.

Biblical exposition attracted his attention about 1530, and in the following year he published a commentary on I John, which was followed two years later by another on Matthew V-VII. He expounds according to the principles he set out in the *Obedience*, taking the natural intended sense of the original author. Then he applies it to the times, but for the most part without those longwinded digressions which make some Reformation commentators so tedious to us. Tyndale rarely used a text as a peg for a sermon. In his exposition of Matthew Tyndale used Luther's sermons published in 1532, but again he shows his independence. He rearranges, passes over Luther's denunciations, and brings in an emphasis on baptism and covenant theology which is foreign to Luther according to L. J. Trinterud.<sup>41</sup>

Tyndale's debt to Luther is much disputed. Westcott said Tyndale's editors had missed it. Certainly the writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* in 1925 had done so, but the debt can also be overstated as when Professor Rupp says, 'In all great matters save perhaps in the doctrine of the eucharistic presence he agreed with Martin Luther.'<sup>42</sup> His sturdy independence must be recognised, and further research may well unearth parallels with Switzerland rather than Germany. Certainly from the time of the Pentateuch notes (1530), Tyndale develops a strong covenant theology, which is not paralleled in Luther. This must be set against the undoubtedly extensive, if independent, use Tyndale made of Luther's writings. Sometimes he refutes Luther's arguments in detail, though without mentioning his name, e.g. in the prefaces to Hebrews, James and Jude.

Tyndale's debt to Erasmus is also disputed. Textually it seems to have been considerable, but theologically the two men were poles apart. Apart from spurring Tyndale to interest in the vernacular in his earlier days, Erasmus's *devotio moderna* with its interest in following the example of Christ finds no echo in Tyndale who views good works and piety as arising out of justifying faith and the work of God in Christ.



Tyndale's grasp of church history is hard to check, as his references are from memory. They were not always reliable, but it is surprising how many parallels the Parker Society editor could find. Tyndale knew the *Corpus of Canon Law* well and often cited it. He quotes the Fathers, especially Augustine, and he certainly knew Platina's *Lives of the Popes*. As his main interest was in the Bible itself, he did not have occasion, as did the later Reformers, to display his patristic learning. In consequence it is almost impossible for us to determine whether his references to the Fathers, Augustine apart, mean he had read them extensively or merely knew a few extracts at second hand.

### *Tyndale's Permanence*

A despatch sent by Crumwell's agent Stephen Vaughan to Henry VIII on 20 May 1531 from Bergen gives us the clue both to Tyndale's great aim in life and to his sense of priorities. Vaughan had been sent to inveigle Tyndale back to England, and the letter records his conversation with Tyndale.

'I assure you, said he, if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same; but immediately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his grace will, so this be obtained.'<sup>43</sup>

As he subsequently proved, Tyndale was prepared to give even his life for that to which he believed God had called him. At the end of his preface to the *Mammon* he wrote with prophetic insight:

'Some man will ask, peradventure, Why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the Gospel. I answer, In burning the New Testament they did none other than that I looked for no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall be so. Nevertheless, in translating the New Testament I did my duty, and so do I now, and will do as much more as God hath ordained me to do.'<sup>44</sup>

He translated because God had called him to it. He did not count the cost, nor was he deterred by adversity. He must

obey, and the results he left to God. All else was subordinate to making the Bible intelligible to the people. Yet his words to Vaughan should not be allowed to detract from his other works. The *Obedience* was not only a refutation of the insurrection charge but a positive exposition from the Bible of obedience to authority. The *Mammon* is a fine piece of exposition, and the commentary on Matthew is full of fruitful pastoral applications. In the prologue to his exposition of I John he explains why he turned to commentating:

'It is not enough to have translated, though it were the whole Scripture, into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also bring again the light to understand it by, and expel that dark cloud which the hypocrites have spread over the face of Scripture to blind the right sense and true meaning thereof.'<sup>45</sup>

This same principle had earlier led him to place explanatory glosses in the margin of his translations. Tyndale was not only a pioneer translator, but also one of the first in England to set out proper principles of interpretation. He had done this at the end of the *Obedience*, but in the preface to Leviticus he returns to his denunciation of allegories—'lest the book come not to all men's hands that shall read this, I will speak of them here also'. (His frequent repetition is due to his knowledge that many of his books would be burnt and to the need to make the new biblical theology quite clear.) He goes on to show that the Old Testament illustrates the New and points to Christ. He backs this up by quotations from the New, e.g. the serpent on the pole in Jn. iii, and Noah in I Pet. iii. Allegories he repudiates altogether.

But Tyndale's most lasting contribution remains his biblical translation. His results were achieved in the face of most inauspicious circumstances. A number of sixteenth-century divines who were put to death made contributions with their pens, but most of them had periods of relative peace, quiet and ease. So it was with More, with Cranmer and with Ridley, but with Tyndale it was different. The winds of fortune never seemed to smile on him once he started on his biblical work. He was often hounded about by agents of Wolsey, Henry, and the Pope; he was betrayed by his own helper, Roye; his imprisonment resulted from betrayal by a fellow-Englishman, Henry Phillips; he was always short of money; he never had access to a scholar's library or leisure;

he once lost all his manuscripts in a shipwreck, and so on. In the end even his friend Joye treated him in an underhand way. Adversity hit Tyndale hard, but despite it he made his translations.

Certainly he used sources to help him translate the original. He used Luther, but as Professor F. F. Bruce says, 'Tyndale was a better Greek scholar than Luther, and his rendering is in general closer to the Greek text than Luther's is.'<sup>46</sup> And as Mr. J. Isaacs observes, 'It is only in the outer trappings that Tindale is so closely indebted to Luther. In the translation itself he maintains an independence which is as remarkable as it is successful.'<sup>47</sup> He translates from the original into homely English. The pompous latinised prose style of the day is passed over, because he is concerned with ordinary Englishmen. The language must be plain. In addition it is direct and forceful. Nobility is matched with an unaffected simplicity. The careful balance of the rhythm is that of the spoken word so that one can almost imagine Tyndale reading his translation over a west country farm gate. As many have pointed out before, the language reflected the character of the man, but it is surprising to find Mr. Isaacs writing, 'In the rendering of technical terms Tindale wilfully chose tendentious and heretical words obnoxious to such orthodox Catholics as Sir Thomas More,' for on the very next page he notes Tyndale's 'honesty, sincerity, and scrupulous integrity', and thereby contradicts his own words.<sup>48</sup> Tyndale's faithfulness to the original is evidenced in all his translations. Even the Roman Catholic writer H. Pope, who seems to feel himself bound to defend all the attacks on Tyndale by the ecclesiastical authorities, admits, 'No one can question, however, that Tyndale was an admirable translator.'<sup>49</sup> His accuracy is seen in the fact that according to Pollard ninety per cent of the A.V. New Testament is his work, and when Butterworth tells us that the percentage is higher in the Gospels and Acts,<sup>50</sup> this is what we should expect from his idiomatic homely conversational style, which reminds us of those early Galilean fishermen.

Those who produced the revisions known as the A.V. and the R.V. paid Tyndale their tributes, and part of their greatness was that they resisted the temptation to change what they could not better. Pollard's 'ninety per cent' is a remark-

able tribute, but it is almost more remarkable to find, after more than three centuries of scholarly progress, the R.V. reverting to some of Tyndale's translations in its changes.

According to Foxe Tyndale's dying words were 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes.' A few years after his death the Great Bible was set up in every parish church, but the prayer has had a wider answer throughout English-speaking Christendom. wherever the Bible is read in the A.V., the R.V. or the R.S.V. This essay began with a citation from a distinguished biblical scholar. It is fitting to conclude with a quotation from another such scholar, Bishop Westcott.

'The achievement was not for one but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence. He felt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language and thought for ever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind.'<sup>1</sup>

G. E. DUFFIELD

<sup>1</sup> *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, London, 1939, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Six Makers of English Religion*, London, 1957, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> On the secularist approach in general see G. Rupp, *Protestant Catholicity*, London, 1960, ch. 1, and for criticism of the *CMH* see B. Hall, *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1960, pp. 110-17. If anyone doubts that ecclesiastical bias is still with us, he should read, for example, T. G. Jalland, *The Book of 1549*, London, 1949, p. 4 and compare J. F. Mozley's trenchant but deserved criticism in *Coverdale and His Bibles*, London, 1953, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *William Tyndale*, London, 1937, ch. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See L. J. Trinterud in *Church History*, March 1962, and J. G. Moller in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, April 1963.

<sup>6</sup> *Masters of the English Reformation*, London, 1955, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, edited by S. Cattley, London, 1841, vol. V, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> P. 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Foxe*, vol. V, p. 117, alluding to Erasmus's 1516 N.T. preface—'I wish the ploughman might sing parts of them at his plough.'

<sup>10</sup> P. 34.

<sup>11</sup> *Dialogue*, vol. II, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Works*, P.S. II, p. 291. See also R. Demaus, *William Tindale*, London, 1888, ch. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Rupp, p. 18, thinks he did not go to Wittenberg.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. IV, p. 217, 5 marks would be over £100 now.

<sup>15</sup> P.S. I, p. 37 f. For Roye's theology see D. B. Knox, *The Doctrine of Faith*, London, 1961, p. 35 f.

<sup>16</sup> Apart from the Pentateuch, translations appeared from Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Hosea, Amos, Zechariah, Malachi, and from the Apocrypha, Esdras, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

<sup>17</sup> A. W. Pollard, *Cologne Fragment Facsimile*, Oxford, 1926, p. xv.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in Rupp, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Pollard, p. xiii, and p. 396 of this book.

<sup>20</sup> So most scholars, but Rupp, p. 19, thinks it might be Roye in his boastful mood. This seems to me unlikely, for would such a boast take in Buschius, who would surely know that Tyndale, not Roye, translated the N.T.?

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the title of the 1534 revision, 'diligently corrected and compared with the Greek'.

<sup>22</sup> *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, London, 1905, third edition, p. 132.

<sup>23</sup> P.S. III, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> P. 28. H. Pope, *English Versions of the Bible*, London, 1952 (revised by S. Bullough), p. 136, perpetuates the error of a debt to Wyclif.

<sup>25</sup> Westcott, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> P. 104.

<sup>27</sup> P. 400 f.

<sup>28</sup> P. 104.

<sup>29</sup> P. 326.

<sup>30</sup> P. 43.

<sup>31</sup> P. 86.

<sup>32</sup> *The Work of William Tindale*, edited by S. L. Greenslade, London, 1938, p. 67.

<sup>33</sup> More uses *atonement* in 1513, but not in a theological sense as does Tyndale at Rom. v. 11 and 2 Cor. v. 18.

<sup>34</sup> See the tabulated list at the end of the 1938 Cambridge edition of the 1534 N.T.

<sup>35</sup> P.S. I, pp. 39 ff. The text of one satire is given there.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>37</sup> See Trinterud, *Church History*, March 1962, pp. 31 ff. Also Demaus, p. 174.

<sup>38</sup> See ch. VI, section i.

<sup>39</sup> P.S. II, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Demaus describes it as 'such as he would never have published had he been resident in his native land'. p. 237.

<sup>41</sup> *Church History*, March 1962, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Rupp, p. 20 f. Both More and Joye accused Tyndale of merely copying Luther.

<sup>43</sup> A photographic reproduction appears in Greenslade facing p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> P.S. I, p. 43 f.

<sup>45</sup> P. 178.

<sup>46</sup> *The English Bible*, London, 1961, p. 50.

<sup>47</sup> *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, Oxford, 1940 (edited by H. W. Robinson), p. 157. This is true as a generalisation, but

at Ex. ii. 22 Tyndale translates Luther, where there is nothing in the Hebrew or in Pagninus.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159 f.

<sup>49</sup> Pope, p. 135.

<sup>50</sup> C. C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, Oxford, 1941, p. 357 f.

<sup>51</sup> Westcott, p. 158. Tyndale is responsible for such Hebraisms as *the living God, to die the death, as the Lord liveth, apple of his eye*, etc.

#### NOTE ON AN UNPUBLISHED THESIS

##### A Study of the Writings of the English Protestant Exiles 1525-35

Dr. Anthea Hume's 1961 London Ph.D. thesis is important for the student of Tyndale. Extensive coverage is given to problems of authorship, bibliography, sources and style in the works of men like Simon Fish, William Roye, Jerome Barlowe, George Joye, John Frith, and the greatest of the exiles, William Tyndale. As an English specialist, Dr. Hume sets them in their context of Tudor literature (conclusions summarised on pp. 512-33), and her study has unearthed new information on early English Protestantism parallel in the literary field to that of D. B. Knox's published work in a more exclusively theological one.

I.—THE WRITINGS OF TYNDALE AND OTHER  
RELATED WORKS

- 1525 New Testament (Cologne fragment) 4°, with glosses.  
 1526 New Testament (Worms) 8°, no glosses.  
 [1526 First Endhoven pirate New Testament (Antwerp) ?16°.]  
 1526 ? A Compendious Introduccion unto the pistle to the  
           Romainys (Worms).  
 1528 The Parable of the Wicked Mammon (Antwerp).  
 1528 The Obedience of a Christen Man (Antwerp).  
 [1529 More's Dialogue.]  
 1530 The Pentateuch (Antwerp).  
 1530 The Practyse of Prelates (Antwerp).  
 [1530 c. Second Endhoven pirate New Testament (Antwerp)  
           ?8°.]  
 1530 c. A Pathway to the Holy Scripture (? London).  
 1531 The Prophete Jonas (Antwerp).  
 1531 An Answere unto Sir T. Mores Dialogue (? Antwerp).  
 1531 The Exposition of the fyrste epistle of Seynt Jhon  
           (Antwerp).  
 [1532 More's Confutation.]  
 1533 An Exposition uppon the V, VI, VII chapters of  
           Mathew (Antwerp).  
 [1533 More's Apology.]  
 1533 ? A Briefe Declaration of the Sacraments *or*, A Fruitefull  
           and Godly Treatise. (No copy extant of first  
           edition.)  
 [1534 Third Endhoven pirate New Testament (Antwerp) 16°.]  
 [1534 Joye's unauthorised revision of the New Testament  
           (Antwerp).]  
 1534 Revised New Testament (Antwerp) 8°.  
 1534 Revised Genesis (Antwerp).  
 [1535 Joye's unauthorised revision of the New Testament  
           (Antwerp).]  
 1535 The Testament of Master W. Tracie Esquier—with *Frith*  
           (Antwerp).  
 [1535 Joye's Apology.]  
 1535 Second Revision of the New Testament (Antwerp).

## II.—WRITINGS OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORSHIP

The Souper of the Lorde (Antwerp) 1533.

Always somewhat doubtful, but accepted by Mozley and Greenslade. Now almost certainly by George Joye, see *Harvard Theological Review* 1960, i, and 1962, i.

The Examinacion of Master W. Thorpe preste and . . . Oldcastell (Antwerp) 1530.

Foxe, Bale and the preface say it is Tyndale's, but More says Constantine's. Accepted as Tyndale's by most today.

The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman unto Christe (Antwerp) 1531.

Bale, Foxe and preface say it is Tyndale's, but Dr. Hume argues for Joye.

## III.—WRITINGS IN MANUSCRIPT

Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in translation.

There is no doubt that Tyndale translated this, but it is uncertain whether the 1533 edition is Tyndale's translation, though Mozley thinks so. See *Review of English Studies*, 1944, pp. 97-107.

Joshua to II Chronicles, probably used in Matthew's Bible, 1537.

A strong and unbroken tradition stemming from Halle's *Chronicle* ascribes these to Tyndale. The matter seems settled in Mozley, pp. 179-86.

## IV.—RECENT BOOKS

No attempt will be made here to provide a full bibliography, but the reader who wants more biographical detail will find it in J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, S.P.C.K., 1937. This is an excellent work, though its lack of proper footnotes limits its use for scholars. Robert Demaus, *William Tindale*, R.T.S., 1871 and 1886, is valuable among older books. S. L. Greenslade, *The Work of William Tindale*, Blackie, 1938, gives a short selection of his works with introduction and notes. Popular essays are to be found in M. L. Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation*, Church Book Room Press, 1955, and G. Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1957. F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible*, Lutterworth, 1961, contains an up-to-date popular account with chapters on Tyndale. C. C. Butterworth and A. G. Chester, *George Joye*, Oxford, 1962, treat Tyndale's relationship with Joye fully, while the best short account of Tyndale's theology is in D. B. Knox, *The Doctrine of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII*, James Clarke, 1961.



# *Complete Works*

**This section contains works reproduced  
in their entirety, or almost so.**

# I. A PATHWAY INTO THE HOLY SCRIPTURE

## [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

THE first original composition from Tyndale's pen, of which any account has come down to us, is his Prologue to the New Testament, printed in quarto by Peter Quentel at Cologne in 1525. The 'Pathway' is an enlarged edition of this Prologue, though the precise date of its publication as a separate treatise is uncertain. Sir Thomas More mentions it in his preface to the 'Confutation of Tyndale's Answer', published in 1532, but apparently he did not realise the identity of its author.

The Parker Society editor of the Tyndale volumes, Henry Walter, had access to the unique Grenville copy of the Prologue (in the British Museum), and collated it with the 'Pathway'. Those parts of the Prologue left out of the 'Pathway' are given as footnotes in the text that follows. Sections which first appeared in the 'Pathway' are marked off by brackets. The marginal notes which figure in the Prologue have the initials W. T. against them, while those found only in Day's 1573 edition are marked Ant. ed., since they may be no more than later editorial comments. In some cases this is manifestly so.]

# A PATHWAY INTO THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

[I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been]<sup>1</sup> so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble is the danger of eternal damnation; other<sup>2</sup> so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing; or so Bedlam mad to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity; and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner lying.

Scriptures  
should be  
translated  
into every  
language.  
Ant. ed.

[Nevertheless, seeing that it hath pleased God to send unto our Englishmen, even to as many as unfeignedly desiro

[<sup>1</sup> The Prologue began as follows:—

‘I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament, for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace; exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have hotter gifts of grace, to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honouring of GOD and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.

‘The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that other should imagine, than that I should rehearse them. Moreover I supposed it superfluous; for who is so blind, &c.’]

[<sup>2</sup> Other, i. e. or.]

The cause  
of the edi-  
tion of this  
Pathway.  
Ant. ed.

it, the scripture in their mother tongue, considering that there be in every place false teachers and blind leaders; that ye should be deceived of no man, I supposed it very necessary to prepare this Pathway into the scripture for you<sup>1</sup>, that ye might walk surely, and ever know the true from the false: and, above all,<sup>2</sup>] to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are, that ye well understand what these words mean; the Old Testament; the New Testament; the law; the gospel; Moses; Christ; nature; grace; working and believing; deeds and faith; lest we ascribe to the one that which belongeth to the other, and make of Christ Moses; of the gospel, the law; despise grace, and rob faith; and fall from meek learning into idle disputations<sup>3</sup>; brawling and scolding about words.

What are  
contained  
in the Old  
Testament.  
W. T.

The Old Testament is a book, wherein is written the law of God, and the deeds of them which fulfil them, and of them also which fulfil them not.

The contents  
of the New  
Testament.  
W. T.

The New Testament is a book, wherein are contained the promises of God; and the deeds of them which believe them, or believe them not.

The Gospel,  
or Evange-  
lion. W. T.

Evangelion (that we call the gospel) is a Greek word; and signifieth good, merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy: as when David had killed Goliath the giant, came glad tidings unto the Jews, that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain, and they delivered out of all danger: for gladness whereof, they sung, danced, and were joyful. In like manner is the Evangelion of God (which we call gospel, and the New Testament) joyful tidings; and, as some say,

[<sup>1</sup> Up to the date of 1532, no translations of either the old or new Testament, into their mother tongue, had been sent to Englishmen through the press, except Tyndale's, so that his manner of speaking here makes it evident, that when he first published the Pathway, it was anonymously.]

[<sup>2</sup> In the Prologue this paragraph began as follows:

'After it had pleased GOD to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore-rehearsed New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you,' &c.]

[<sup>3</sup> In the Prologue the word is *dispicions*; which appears, from several instances in sir Thomas More's controversial works, to have been equivalent to *disputations*.]

a good hearing published by the apostles throughout all the world, of Christ the right David; how that he hath fought with sin, with death, and the devil, and overcome them: whereby all men that were in bondage to sin, wounded with death, overcome of the devil, are, without their own merits or deservings, loosed, justified, restored to life and saved, brought to liberty and reconciled unto the favour of God, and set at one<sup>4</sup> with him again: which tidings as many as believe laud, praise, and thank God; are glad, sing and dance for joy.

This Evangelion or gospel (that is to say, such joyful tidings) is called the New Testament; because that as a man, when he shall die, appointeth his goods to be dealt and distributed after his death among them which he nameth to be his heirs; even so Christ before his death commanded and appointed that such Evangelion, gospel, or tidings should be declared throughout all the world, and therewith to give unto all that [repent, and] believe, all his goods: that is to say, his life, wherewith he swallowed and devoured up death; his righteousness, wherewith he banished sin; his salvation, wherewith he overcame eternal damnation. Now can the wretched man (that [knoweth himself to be wrapped] in sin, and in danger<sup>6</sup> to death and hell) hear no more joyous a thing, than such glad and comfortable tidings of Christ; so that he cannot but be glad, and laugh from the low bottom of his heart, if he believe that the tidings are true.

To strength<sup>7</sup> such faith withal, God promised this his Evangelion in the Old Testament by the prophets, as Paul saith, (Rom. i.), how that he was chosen out to preach God's

Why the Evangelion is called a Testament.  
W. T.

No greater comfort can happen to a sinner, being penitent, than the promises of the gospel. W. T.

The gospel was promised of God, in the Old Testament, by the prophets.  
W. T.  
Rom. i.

[<sup>4</sup> At one. So Tyndale has translated *Eis eipḗnēn* in Acts vii. 26; and his rendering has been continued in our authorised version. The same idiomatic expression occurs in our homilies; as in that for Good Friday, 'Without payment God the Father would never be at one with us.' Hence, as is well known, comes the verb *atone*.]

[<sup>5</sup> Tyndale has elsewhere informed his readers that he uses the word Testament, to express 'An appointment made between God and man, and God's promises.' *Table expounding certain words in Genesis*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Danger. This word was used to signify subjection to an offended power. Thus bishop Fisher says, 'What suppose ye that Luther would do, if he had the pope's holiness in his danger?']

[<sup>7</sup> Strength: strengthen.]

Christ hath  
overthrown  
the devil and  
all his power.  
W. T.

Evangelion, which he before had promised by the prophets in the Scriptures, that treat of his Son which was born of the seed of Dávid. In Gen. iii. God saith to the serpent, "I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed; that self seed shall tread thy head under foot." Christ is this woman's seed: he it is that hath trodden under foot the devil's head, that is to say, sin, death, hell, and all his power. For without this seed can no man avoid sin, death, hell, and everlasting damnation.

Gen. xxii.

Again, (Gen. xxii.), God promised Abraham, saying, "In thy seed shall all the generations of the earth be blessed."

Gal. iii.

Christ is that seed of Abraham, saith St Paul (Gal. iii). He hath blessed all the world through the gospel. For where Christ is not, there remaineth the curse, that fell on Adam as soon as he had sinned, so that they are in bondage under damnation<sup>1</sup> of sin, death, and hell. Against this curse, blesseth now the gospel all the world inasmuch as it crieth openly, [unto all that knowledge<sup>2</sup> their sins and repent, saying,] Whosoever believeth on the seed of Abraham shall be blessed; that is, he shall be delivered from sin, death, and hell, and shall henceforth continue righteous<sup>3</sup>, and saved for ever; as Christ himself saith in the eleventh of John, 'He that believeth on me, shall never more die.'

John xi.

John i.  
The law was  
given by  
Moses, grace  
and truth by  
Jesus Christ.  
W. T.

"The law" (saith the gospel of John in the first chapter<sup>4</sup>) "was given by Moses: but grace and verity by Jesus Christ." The law (whose minister is Moses) was given to bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves, that we might thereby feel and perceive what we are, of nature. The law condemneth us and all our deeds; and is called of Paul (in 2 Cor. iii.) the ministration of death. For it killeth our consciences, and driveth us to desperation; inasmuch as it requireth of us that which is impossible for our nature<sup>5</sup> to do. It requireth of us the deeds of an whole man. It requireth perfect love, from the low bottom and ground of the heart, as well in all things which we suffer, as in the things which we do. But, saith John in the same place, "grace and verity is given us in Christ:" so that,

2 Cor. iii.

The law requireth of us that which is impossible for our nature to do. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Prol. has *domination*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Knowledge: acknowledge.]

[<sup>3</sup> Prol., 'righteous, living, and saved.']

[<sup>4</sup> So in Prol. Day's edition of the Pathway has saith John i.]

[<sup>5</sup> Prol. *impossible for us*.]

when the law hath passed upon us, and condemned us to death (which is his nature to do), then we have in Christ grace, that is to say, favour, promises of life, of mercy, of pardon, freely, by the merits of Christ; and in Christ have we verity and truth, in that God [for his sake] fulfilleth all his promises to them that believe. Therefore is the Gospel the ministration of life. Paul calleth it, in the fore-rehearsed place of the 2 Cor. iii. the ministration of the Spirit and of righteousness. In the gospel, when we believe the promises, we receive the spirit of life; and are justified, in the blood of Christ, from all things wherof the law condemned us. [And we receive love unto the law, and power to fulfil it, and grow therein daily.] Of Christ it is written, in the fore-rehearsed John i. This is he of whose abundance, or fulness, all we have received grace for grace, or favour for favour. That is to say, For the favour that God hath to his Son Christ, he giveth unto us his favour and good-will, [and all gifts of his grace,] as a father to his sons. As affirmeth Paul, saying, "Which loved us in his Beloved before the creation of the world." [So that Christ bringeth the love of God unto us, and not our own holy works<sup>6</sup>.] Christ is made Lord over all, and is called in scripture God's mercy-stool: whosoever therefore flieth to Christ, can neither hear nor receive of God any other thing save mercy.

When the law hath condemned us, Christ granteth us free pardon. W. T.

2 Cor. iii.

John i.

Christ is God's mercy-stool, so that no mercy cometh from God, but through Christ. W. T.

In the Old Testament are many promises, which are nothing else but the Evangelion or gospel, to save those that believed them from the vengeance of the law. And in the New Testament is oft made mention of the law, to condemn them which believe not the promises. Moreover, the law and the gospel may never be separate: for the gospel and promises serve but for troubled consciences, which are brought to desperation, and feel the pains of hell and death under the law, and are in captivity and bondage under the law. In all my deeds I must have the law before me, to condemn mine unperfectness. For all that I do (be I never so perfect) is yet damnable sin, when it is compared to the law, which requireth the ground and bottom of mine heart. I must therefore have always the law in my sight, that I

The law must ever be in

[<sup>6</sup> Instead of the last sentence, the Prologue had: 'For the love that God hath to Christ, he loveth us, and not for our own sakes'.]

sight, to make  
us humble-  
spirited: and  
the gospel  
also before  
our eyes, to  
comfort us.  
W. T.

may be meek in the spirit, and give God all the laud and praise, ascribing to him all righteousness, and to myself all unrighteousness and sin. I must also have the promises before mine eyes, that I despair not; in which promises I see the mercy, favour, and good-will of God upon me in the blood of his Son Christ, which hath made satisfaction for mine unperfectness, and fulfilled for me that which I could not do.

Two manner  
of people  
deceived:  
those which  
justify them-  
selves by  
their works;  
and those  
that through  
their blind  
opinion of  
faith utterly  
pervert the  
lively faith.  
W. T.

Here may ye perceive that two manner of people are sore deceived. First, they which justify themselves with outward deeds, in that they abstain outwardly from that which the law forbiddeth, and do outwardly that which the law commandeth. They compare themselves to open sinners; and in respect of them justify themselves, condemning the open sinners. They set a vail on Moses' face, and see not how the law requireth love from the bottom of the heart, [and that love only is the fulfilling of the law.] If they did, they would not condemn their neighbours. "Love hideth the multitude of sins," saith St Peter in his first epistle. For whom I love from the deep bottom and ground of mine heart, him condemn I not, neither reckon his sins; but suffer his weakness and infirmity, as a mother the weakness of her son until he grow up into a perfect man.

Those also are deceived which, without all fear of God, give themselves unto all manner<sup>1</sup> vices with full consent and full delectation, having no respect to the law of God (under whose vengeance they are locked up in captivity); but say, God is merciful, and Christ died for us; supposing that such dreaming and imagination is that faith which is so greatly commended in holy scripture. Nay, that is not faith, but rather a foolish blind opinion, springing of their own [corrupt] nature, and is not given them of the Spirit of God, [but rather of the spirit of the devil, whose faith now-a-days the popish compare and make equal unto the best trust, confidence, and belief, that a repenting soul can have in the blood of our Saviour Jesus, unto their own confusion, shame, and uttering<sup>2</sup> what they are within. But] true faith is (as

[<sup>1</sup> The stylo of a little later date would require that *of* should follow manner. Tyndale sometimes subjoins *of*, as in the last paragraph; but more frequently omits it.]

[<sup>2</sup> To utter, is continually used by Tyndale for, to detect, to make



saith the apostle Paul) the gift of God; and is given to sinners, after the law hath passed upon them, and hath brought their consciences unto the brim of desperation and sorrows of hell.

They that have this right faith, consent to the law, that it is righteous and good; and justify God which made the law; and have delectation in the law (notwithstanding that they cannot fulfil it [as they would,] for their weakness); and they abhor whatsoever the law forbiddeth, though they cannot [always] avoid it. And their great sorrow is, because they cannot fulfil the will of God in the law; and the Spirit, that is in them, crieth to God night and day for strength and help, with tears (as saith Paul) that cannot be expressed with tongue. Of which things the belief of our popish (or of their) father, whom they so magnify for his strong faith, hath none experience at all.

He that hath a right faith delighteth in the law, although his weakness cannot fulfil the same.  
W. T.

The first, that is to say, he<sup>3</sup> which justifieth himself with his outward deeds, consenteth not to the law inward, neither hath delectation therein, yea, he would rather that no such law were. So justifieth he not God, but hateth him as a tyrant; neither careth he for the promises, but will with his own strength be saviour of himself: no wise glorifieth he God, though he seem outward to do.

A justiciary.  
W. T.  
He that justifieth himself, rejecteth the law and promises.  
Ant. ed.

The second, that is to say, the sensual person, as a voluptuous swine, neither feareth God in his law, neither is thankful to him for his promises and mercy, which is set forth in Christ to all them that believe.

A sensual man. W. T.

The right christian man consenteth to the law that it is righteous, and justifieth God in the law; for he affirmeth that God is righteous and just, which is author of the law. He believeth the promises of God; and<sup>4</sup> justifieth God, judg-

A Christian man. W. T.

public or manifest, to bring out; of which last meaning we have still a relic in use, when a person is charged with *uttering* forged money. Thus Tyndale, translating *ἐκδηλος ἔσται* in 2 Tim. iii. 9, says, 'Their madness shall be uttered.' And in Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. iv. 227, he says, 'Marian Morden was forced upon her oath to utter James Morden, her own brother, for teaching her the Pater-noster, Ave, and Creed in English.' Whilst a little farther, meaning to express the same thing, he says, 'John Clerke was forced by his oath to detect Richard Vulford for speaking against images.'

[<sup>3</sup> Instead of *he*, Prol. has *a justiciary*.]

[<sup>4</sup> Prol. *And so justifieth*.]

ing him true, and believing that he will fulfil his promises. With the law he condemneth himself, and all his deeds, and giveth all the praise to God. He believeth the promises, and ascribeth all truth to God: thus, everywhere, justifieth he God, and praiseth God.

Nature.  
W. T.

By nature, through the fall of Adam, are we the children of wrath, heirs of the vengeance of God by birth, yea, and from our conception. And we have our fellowship with the damned devils, under the power of darkness and rule of Satan, while we are yet in our mother's wombs; and though we shew not forth the fruits of sin [as soon as we are born,] yet are we full of the natural poison, whereof all sinful deeds spring, and cannot but sin outwards, (be we never so young,) [as soon as we be able to work,] if occasion be given: for our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. And as a serpent, yet young, or yet unbrought forth, is full of poison, and cannot afterward (when the time is come, and occasion given) but bring forth the fruits thereof; and as an adder, a toad, or a snake, is hated of man, not for the evil that it hath done, but for the poison that is in it, and hurt which it cannot but do: so are we hated of God, for that natural poison, which is conceived and born with us, before we do any outward evil. And as the evil, which a venomous worm doth, maketh it not a serpent; but because it is a venomous worm, doth it<sup>1</sup> evil and poisoneth: and as the fruit maketh not the tree evil; but because it is an evil tree, therefore bringeth it forth evil fruit, when the season of the fruit is: even so do not our evil deeds make us [first] evil, [though ignorance and blindness, through evil working, hardeneth us in evil, and maketh us worse and worse;] but because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend.

We are  
plucked from  
Adam and  
grafted in  
Christ, by  
grace. W. T.

By grace (that is to say, by favour) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and grafted in Christ, the root of all goodness. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy gospel; and, when

[<sup>1</sup> Prol. therefore doth it.]

the gospel is preached to us, openeth our hearts, and giveth us grace to believe, and putteth the Spirit of Christ in us; and we know him as our Father most merciful, and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfil it, and sorrow because we cannot: which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient, till more strength be given us; the blood of Christ hath made satisfaction for the rest; the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. Christ is our satisfaction, Redcemer, Deliverer, Saviour, from vengeance and wrath. Observe and mark in Paul's, Peter's and John's epistles, and in the gospel, what Christ is unto us.

The blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. W. T.

By faith are we saved only, in believing the promises. And though faith be never without love and good works, yet is our saving imputed neither to love nor unto good works, but unto faith only. For love and works are under the law, which requireth perfection and the ground and fountain of the heart, and damneth<sup>2</sup> all imperfectness. Now is faith under the promises, which damn not; but give pardon<sup>3</sup>, grace, mercy, favour, and whatsoever is contained in the promises.

Faith, love, works. W. T.

Righteousness is divers: [for] blind reason imagineth many manner of righteousness<sup>4</sup>. There is the righteousness of works (as I said before), when the heart is away, and feeleth not how the law is spiritual, and cannot be fulfilled, but from the bottom of the heart: as the just ministration of all manner of laws, and the observing of them, [for a worldly purpose and for our own profit, and not of love unto our neighbour, without all other respect,] and moral virtues,

Righteousness, otherwise justifying, or justice. W. T.

Sundry sorts of righteousness. Ant. ed.

[<sup>2</sup> In our old writers this word means simply *to condemn*; and does not define whether the condemnation be to hell, or to something very much less. Thus in an act of parliament, 11 Hen. VII. c. 19, respecting cushions or pillows stuffed with mixed materials, it is said, 'unlawful corrupt stuffs' may not be sold, 'but utterly to be damned.']

[<sup>3</sup> Instead of *pardon, grace*, Prol. has *all grace*.]

[<sup>4</sup> The next sentence is both in the Prologue and the Pathway; but in the former in a different place, being inserted between the words *blood of Christ* and *There is a full*, in the middle of the next page. Besides this difference, Day has *is not felt*, where Prol. has *feelet not*.]

wherein philosophers put their felicity and blessedness, which all are nothing in the sight of God [in respect of the life to come.] There is in like manner the justifying of ceremonies, which some imagine<sup>1</sup> their own selves, some counterfeit<sup>2</sup> other, saying in their blind reason, Such holy persons did thus and thus, and they were holy men; therefore if I do so likewise, I shall please God. But they have none answer of God, that that pleaseth. The Jews seek righteousness in their ceremonies, which God gave unto them, not for to justify, but to describe and paint Christ unto them: of which Jews testifieth Paul, saying, how that they have affection to God, but not after knowledge; for they go about to stablish their own justice, and are not obedient to the justice or righteousness that cometh of God, [which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood unto all that repent and believe.]

Man's sensual  
reason cannot  
perceive the  
virtue of  
Christ's  
blood. W. T.

The cause is verily, that except a man cast away his own imagination and reason, he cannot perceive God, and understand the virtue and power of the blood of Christ. There is a full righteousness; when the law is fulfilled from the ground of the heart. This had neither Peter nor Paul in this life perfectly, [unto the uttermost, that they could not be perfecter,] but sighed after it. They were so far forth blessed in Christ, that they hungered and thirsted after it. Paul had this thirst; he consented to the law of God, that it ought so to be, but he found another lust in his members, contrary to the lust<sup>3</sup> and desire of his mind, [that letted him,] and therefore cried out, saying, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? thanks be to God through Jesus Christ." The righteousness that before God is of value, is to believe the promises of God, after the law hath confounded the conscience: as when the temporal law oftentimes condemneth the thief or murderer, and bringeth him to execution, so that he seeth nothing before him but present death; and then cometh good tidings, a charter from the king, and delivereth him. Likewise, when God's law hath brought the sinner into knowledge of himself, and hath con-

[<sup>1</sup> For which some imagine, Prol. has, some imagine them.]

[<sup>2</sup> The verb *counterfeit* is continually used by Tyndale for, to imitate, or copy, in a harmless sense.]

[<sup>3</sup> *Lust* is used by Tyndale for the wish or will, whether it be holy or unholy.]

founded his conscience and opened unto him the wrath and vengeance of God ; then cometh good tidings. The Evangelion sheweth unto him the promises of God in Christ, and how that Christ hath purchased pardon for him, hath satisfied the law for him, and appeased the wrath of God. And the poor sinner believeth, laudeth and thanketh God through Christ, and breaketh out into exceeding inward joy and gladness, for that he hath escaped so great wrath, so heavy vengeance, so fearful and so everlasting a death. And he henceforth is an hungred and athirst after more righteousness, that he might fulfil the law ; and mourneth continually, commending his weakness unto God in the blood of our Saviour, Christ Jesus.

Here shall ye see compendiously and plainly set out the order and practice of every thing afore rehearsed.

The fall of Adam hath made us heirs of the vengeance and wrath of God, and heirs of eternal damnation ; and hath brought us into captivity and bondage under the devil. And the devil is our lord, and our ruler, our head, our governor, our prince, yea, and our god. And our will is locked and knit faster unto the will of the devil, than could an hundred thousand chains bind a man unto a post. Unto the devil's will consent we with all our hearts, with all our minds, with all our might, power, strength, will and lusts ; [so that the law and will of the devil is written as well in our hearts as in our members, and we run headlong after the devil with full zeal, and the whole swing of all the power we have ; as a stone cast up into the air cometh down naturally of his own self, with all the violence and swing of his own weight.] With what poison<sup>4</sup>, deadly, and venomous hate hateth a man his enemy ! With how great malice of mind, inwardly, do we slay and murder ! With what violence and rage, yea, and with how fervent lust commit we advoutry<sup>5</sup>, fornication, and such like uncleanness ! With what pleasure and delectation, inwardly, serveth a glutton his belly ! With what diligence deceive we ! How busily seek we the things of this world ! Whatsoever we do, think, or imagine, is abominable in the sight of God. [For we can refer nothing unto the honour of

Adam's fall brought us in bondage to the devil.  
Ant. ed.

Adam bringeth us to bondage.  
W. T.

The natural corruption of the minds of Adam's heirs plainly set forth.  
W. T.

[<sup>4</sup> Poison, i. e., poisonous ; as the word is again used in the next page.]

[<sup>5</sup> Adultery.]

God; neither is his law, or will, written in our members or in our hearts: neither is there any more power in us to follow the will of God, than in a stone to ascend upward of his own self.] And [beside that,] we are as it were asleep in so deep blindness, that we can neither see nor feel what misery, thralldom, and wretchedness we are in, till Moses come and wake us, and publish the law. When we hear the law truly preached, how that we ought to love and honour God with all our strength and might, from the low bottom of the heart, [because he hath created us, and both heaven and earth for our sakes, and made us lord thereof;] and our neighbours (yea, our enemies) as ourselves, inwardly, from the ground of the heart, [because God hath made them after the likeness of his own image, and they are his sons as well as we, and Christ hath bought them with his blood, and made them heirs of everlasting life as well as us; and how we ought to] do<sup>1</sup> whatsoever God biddeth, and abstain from whatsoever God forbiddeth, with all love and meekness, with a fervent and a burning lust from the center of the heart; then beginneth the conscience to rage against the law, and against God. No sea, be it ever so great a tempest, is so unquiet. For it is not possible for a natural man to consent to the law, that it should be good, or that God should be righteous which maketh the law; [inasmuch as it is contrary unto his nature, and damneth him and all that he can do, and neither sheweth him where to fetch help, nor preacheth any mercy; but only setteth man at variance with God, (as witnesseth Paul, Rom. iv.) and provoketh him and stirreth him to rail on God, and to blasphemise him as a cruel tyrant. For it is not possible for a man, till he be born again, to think that God is righteous to make him of so poison a nature, either for his own pleasure or for the sin of another man, and to give him a law that is impossible for him to do, or to consent to<sup>2</sup>;] his wit, reason, and will being so fast glued, yea, nailed and chained unto the will of the devil. Neither can any creature loose the bonds, save the blood of Christ [only].

Rom. iv.

Man before  
his regeneration  
cannot  
think well of  
God. Ant. ed.

Christ setteth  
us at liberty.  
W. T.

This is the captivity and bondage, whence Christ delivered us, redeemed and loosed us. His blood, his death, his

[<sup>1</sup> Prol. has, *heart; and do whatsoever.*]

[<sup>2</sup> Prol. *maketh the law; man's wit, reason, and will, are so, &c.*]

patience in suffering rebukes and wrongs, his prayers and fastings, his meekness and fulfilling of the uttermost point of the law, appeased the wrath of God; brought the favour of God to us again; obtained that God should love us first, and be our Father, and that a merciful Father, that will consider our infirmities and weakness, and will give us his Spirit again (which was taken away in the fall of Adam) to rule, govern, and strength us, and to break the bonds of Satan, wherein we were so strait bound. When Christ is thuswise preached, and the promises rehearsed, which are contained in the prophets, in the psalms, and in divers places of the five books of Moses, [which preaching is called the Gospel or glad tidings;] then the hearts of them which are elect and chosen, begin to wax soft and melt at the bounteous mercy of God, and kindness shewed of Christ. For when the evangelion is preached, the Spirit of God entereth into them which God hath ordained and appointed unto eternal life; and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh such belief in them. When the woful consciences feel and taste how sweet a thing the bitter death of Christ is, and how merciful and loving God is, through Christ's purchasing and merits; they begin to love again, and to consent to the law of God, how that it is good and ought so to be, and that God is righteous which made it; and desire to fulfil the law, even as a sick man desireth to be whole, and are an hungred and thirst after more righteousness, and after more strength, to fulfil the law more perfectly. And in all that they do, or omit and leave undone, they seek God's honour and his will with meekness, ever condemning the unperfectness of their deeds by the law.

Now Christ standeth us in double stead; and us serveth, two manner wise. First, he is our Redeemer, Deliverer, Reconciler, Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, Attorney, Solicitor, our Hope, Comfort, Shield, Protection, Defender, Strength, Health, Satisfaction and Salvation. His blood, his death, all that he ever did, is ours. And Christ himself, with all that he is or can do, is ours. His blood-shedding, and all that he did, doth me as good service as though I myself had done it. And God (as great as he is) is mine, with all that he hath, [as an husband is his wife's,] through Christ and his purchasing.

Secondarily, after that we be overcome with love and

The hearts of the elect do even melt at the preaching of God's mercy, and Christ's kindness. Ant. ed.

The evangelion bringeth faith, faith bringeth love, love worketh. W. T.

Christ left nothing undone that might be to our salvation. Ant. ed.

Christ bringeth all goodness freely, and giveth an ensample how to bestow it godly. W. T.

Faith receiveth of God, and love bestoweth the same on his neighbour. W. T.

Christ did not good deeds to merit heaven, for that was his already, but freely, for our sakes. Ant. ed.

kindness, and now seek to do the will of God (which is a Christian man's nature), then have we Christ an example to counterfeit; as saith Christ himself in John, "I have given you an example." And in another evangelist he saith, "He that will be great among you, shall be your servant and minister; as the Son of man came to minister, and not to be ministered unto." And Paul saith, "Counterfeit Christ!" And Peter saith, "Christ died for you, and left you an example to follow his steps." Whatsoever therefore faith hath received of God through Christ's blood and deserving, that same must love shed out, every whit, and bestow it on our neighbours unto their profit, yea, and that though they be our enemies. [What faith receiveth of God through Christ's blood, that we must bestow on our neighbours, though they be our enemies.] By faith we receive of God, and by love we shed out again. And that must we do freely, after the example of Christ, without any other respect, save our neighbour's wealth<sup>2</sup> only; and neither look for reward in the earth, nor yet in heaven, for [the deserving and merits of] our deeds, [as friars preach; though we know that good deeds are rewarded, both in this life and in the life to come.] But of pure love must we bestow ourselves, all that we have, and all that we are able to do, even on our enemies, to bring them to God, considering nothing but their wealth, as Christ did ours. Christ did not his deeds to obtain heaven thereby, (that had been a madness;) heaven was his already, he was heir thereof, it was his by inheritance; but did them freely for our sakes, considering nothing but our wealth, and to bring the favour of God to us again, and us to God. And no natural<sup>3</sup> son, that is his father's heir, doth his father's will because he would be heir; that he is already by birth; his father gave him that ere he was born, and is loather that he should go without it, than he himself hath wit to be; but of pure love doth he that he doth. And ask him, Why he doth any thing that he

[<sup>1</sup> The text meant is probably Ephes. v. i, *Γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*; which Tyndale has rendered, 'Be ye counterfeiters of God,' and where he might think, that by God is meant Christ, from the introduction of the name of Christ in a similar relation in the next clause.]

[<sup>2</sup> Wealth: welfare.]

[<sup>3</sup> Natural: ordinary, as being a partaker of the father's nature.]



doth? he answereth, My father bade; it is my father's will; it pleaseth my father. Bond-servants work for hire, children for love: for their father, with all he hath, is theirs already. So doth a Christian man freely all that he doth; considereth nothing but the will of God, and his neighbour's wealth only. If I live chaste, I do it not to obtain heaven thereby; for then should I do wrong to the blood of Christ; Christ's blood hath obtained me that; Christ's merits have made me heir thereof; he is both door and way thitherwards: neither that I look for an higher room<sup>4</sup> in heaven, than they shall have which live in wedlock, other than a whore of the stews (if she repent); for that were the pride of Lucifer: but freely to wait on the evangelion; [and to avoid the trouble of the world, and occasions that might pluck me therefrom,] and to serve my brother withal; even as one hand helpeth another, or one member another, because one feeleth another's grief, and the pain of the one is the pain of the other. Whatsoever is done to the least of us (wbether it be good or bad), it is done to Christ; and whatsoever is done to my brother (if I be a Christian man), that same is done to me. Neither doth my brother's pain grieve me less than mine own: neither rejoyce I less at his wealth than at mine own, [if I love him as well and as much as myself, as the law commandeth me.] If it were not so, how saith Paul? "Let him that rejoiceth, rejoyce in the Lord," that is to say, Christ, which is Lord over all creatures. If my merits obtained me heaven, or a higher place<sup>5</sup> there, then had I wherein I might rejoyce besides the Lord.

A true Christian man believeth that heaven is his already, and therefore loveth, and worketh, to honour God only, and to draw all things to God. W. T.

Here see ye the nature of the law, and the nature of the evangelion; how the law is the key that bindeth and damneth all men, and the evangelion [is the key that] looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the evangelion followeth. When a preacher preacheth the law, he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the gospel) useth God and his preacher, to heal and cure sinners withal. The law driveth out the disease and maketh it appear, and is a sharp salve, and a fretting corosy<sup>6</sup>, and killeth

The law bindeth, and the gospel looseth all men. W. T.

The force of the law. W. T.

[<sup>4</sup> Room: place.]

[<sup>5</sup> In the Prol. the word is *room*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Corrosive, or caustic.]

the dead flesh, and looseth and draweth the sores out by the roots, and all corruption. It pulleth from a man the trust and confidence that he hath in himself, and in his own works, merits, deservings and ceremonies, [and robbeth him of all his righteousness, and maketh him poor.] It killeth him, sendeth him down to hell, and bringeth him to utter desperation, and prepareth the way of the Lord, as it is written of John the Baptist. For it is not possible that Christ should come to a man, as long as he trusteth in himself, or in any worldly thing, [or hath any righteousness of his own, or riches of holy works.] Then cometh the evangelion, a more gentle pastor, which suppléth and suageth the wounds of the conscience, and bringeth health. It bringeth the Spirit of God; which looseth the bonds of Satan, and coupleth us to God and his will, through strong faith and fervent love, with bonds too strong for the devil, the world, or any creature to loose them.

The uprising  
sinner feeleth  
such joy in  
the gospel  
that he think-  
eth it impos-  
sible that God  
should for-  
sake him.  
Aut. ed.

And the poor and wretched sinner feeleth so great mercy, love, and kindness in God, that he is sure in himself how that it is not possible that God should forsake him, or withdraw his mercy and love from him; and boldly crieth out with Paul, saying, "Who shall separate us from the love that God loveth us withal?" That is to say, What shall make me believe that God loveth me not? Shall tribulation? anguish? perscution? Shall hunger? nakedness? Shall sword? Nay, "I am sure that neither death, nor life, neither angel, neither rule nor power, neither present things nor things to come, neither high nor low, neither any creature, is able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord." In all such tribulations a Christian man perceiveth that God is his Father, and loveth him even as he loved Christ when he shed his blood on the cross. Finally, as before, when I was bond to the devil and his will, I wrought all manner evil and wickedness, not for hell's sake, which is the reward of sin, but because I was heir of hell by birth and bondage to the devil, did I evil, (for I could none otherwise do; to do sin was my nature;) even so now, since I am coupled to God by Christ's blood, do I well, not for heaven's sake, [which is yet the reward of well doing;] but because I am heir of heaven by grace and Christ's purchasing, and have the Spirit of God, I do good freely, for so is my nature: as a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil

A Christian  
man feeleth  
the working  
of the Holy  
Ghost in his  
soul; and in  
all tribula-  
tions and ad-  
versities feeleth  
God a  
merciful  
father and a  
loving.  
W. T.

fruit. By the fruits shall ye know what the tree is. A man's deeds declare what he is within, but make him neither good nor bad; [though, after we be created anew by the Spirit and doctrine of Christ, we wax perfecter alway, with working according to the doctrine, and not with blind works of our own imagining.] We must be first evil ere we do evil, as a serpent is first poisoned ere he poison. We must be also good ere we do good, as the fire must be first hot, ere it [heat another]<sup>1</sup> thing. Take an example: As those blind and deaf, which are cured in the gospel, could not see nor hear, till Christ had given them sight and hearing<sup>2</sup>; and those sick could not do the deeds of an whole man, till Christ had given them health; so can no man do good in his soul, till Christ have loosed him out of the bonds of Satan, and have given him wherewith to do good, yea, and first have poured into him that self good thing which he sheddeth forth afterward on other. Whatsoever is our own, is sin. Whatsoever is above that, is Christ's gift, purchase, doing and working. He bought it of his Father dearly, with his blood, yea, with his most bitter death, and gave his life for it. Whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely, without our deserving or merits, for Christ's blood's sake. That we desire to follow the will of God, it is the gift of Christ's blood. That we now hate the devil's will (whereunto we were so fast locked, and could not but love it), is also the gift of Christ's blood; unto whom belongeth the praise and honour of our good deeds, and not unto us<sup>3</sup>.

All sin in us  
is of our-  
selves, and  
all goodness  
of Christ.  
W. T.

[Our deeds do us three manner of service. First, they certify us that we are heirs of everlasting life, and that the Spirit of God, which is the earnest thereof, is in us; in that our hearts consent unto the law of God, and we have power in our members to do it, though imperfectly. And secondarily, we tame the flesh therewith, and kill the sin that remaineth yet in us; and wax daily perfecter and perfecter in

Works cer-  
tify us of  
everlasting  
inheritance,  
kill sin in us,  
and relieve  
the necessity  
of our neigh-  
bour.

[<sup>1</sup> Prol. *warm any.*]

[<sup>2</sup> Prol. As those blind, which are cured in the evangelion, could not see till Christ had given them sight; and deaf could not hear, till Christ had given them hearing.]

[<sup>3</sup> With these words the Prologue ends: the remaining marginal notes are consequently all of them from Day's edition.]

the Spirit therewith; and keep<sup>1</sup> that the lusts choke not the word of God that is sown in us, nor quench the gifts and working of the Spirit, and that we lose not the Spirit again. And thirdly, we do our duty unto our neighbour therewith, and help their necessity unto our own comfort also, and draw all men unto the honouring and praising of God.

Gifts of grace  
belong to our  
brother as  
much as to  
ourselves.

And whosoever excelleth in the gifts of grace, let the same think that they be given him, as much to do his brother service as for his own self, and as much for the love which God hath to the weak, as unto him unto whom God giveth such gifts. And he that withdraweth aught that he hath from his neighbour's need, robbeth his neighbour, and is a thief. And he that is proud of the gifts of God, and thinketh himself by the reason of them better than his feeble neighbour, and not rather (as the truth is) knowledgeth himself a servant unto his poor neighbour, by the reason of them; the same hath Lucifer's spirit in him, and not Christ's.

These things to know: first, the law; how that it is natural right, and equity; that we have but one God to put our hope and trust in, and him to love with all the heart, all the soul, and all our might and power, and neither to move heart nor hand but at his commandment, because he hath first created us of nought, and heaven and earth for our sakes; and afterwards when we had marred ourself through sin, he forgave us, and created us again, in the blood of his beloved Son:

And that we have the name of our one God in fear and reverence; and that we dishonour it not, in swearing thereby about light trifles or vanity, or call it to record for the confirming of wickedness or falsehood, or aught that is to the dishonour of God, which is the breaking of his laws, or unto the hurt of our neighbour:

And inasmuch as he is our Lord and God, and we his double possession, by creation and redemption, and therefore ought (as I said) neither to move heart or hand without his commandment; it is right that we have needful holy days to come together, and learn his will, both the law which he

Holy days necessary to come together in, and learn Christ's will.

[<sup>1</sup> Keep: take care. 'Wymmen ne kepte of,' i.e. Women took no care of, or, Women had no regard for. Hearne's Glossary to Robt. of Gloucester's Chronicle. And Wicliffe, Luke x. 40. 'Lord, takist thou no kepe.']

will have us ruled by, and also the promises of mercy which he will have us trust unto; and to give God thanks together for his mercy, and to commit our infirmities to him through our Saviour Jesus, and to reconcile ourselves unto him, and each to other, if aught be between brother and brother that requireth it. And for this purpose and such like, as to visit the sick and needy, and redress peace and unity, were the holy days ordained only; and so far forth are they to be kept holy from all manner works that may be conveniently spared for the time, till this be done, and no further, but then lawfully to work:

And that it is right that we obey father and mother master, lord, prince and king, and all the ordinances of the world, bodily and ghostly, by which God ruleth us, and ministereth freely his benefits unto us all: and that we love them for the benefits that we receive by them, and fear them for the power they have over us to punish us, if we trespass the law and good order. So far yet are the worldly powers or rulers to be obeyed only, as their commandments repugn not against the commandment of God; and then, ho<sup>2</sup>. Wherefore we must have God's commandment ever in our hearts, and by the higher law interpret the inferior: that we obey nothing against the belief of one God, or against the faith, hope and trust that is in him only, or against the love of God, whereby we do or leave undone all things for his sake; and that we do nothing, for any man's commandment, against the reverence of the name of God, to make it despised, and the less feared and set by; and that we obey nothing to the hinderance of the knowledge of the blessed doctrine of God, whose servant the holy day is. Notwithstanding, though the rulers which God hath set over us command us against God, or do us open wrong, and oppress us with cruel tyranny; yet because they are in God's room, we may not avenge ourselves, but by the process and order of God's law, and laws of man made by the authority of God's law, which is also God's law, ever by an higher power, and remitting the vengeance unto God, and in the mean season suffer until the hour be come:

And on the other side, to know that a man ought to love his neighbour equally and fully as well as himself, be-

Worldly rulers to be obeyed so far forth as their laws impugn not God's laws.

Though rulers appointed of God oppress us, yet we may not avenge, they being in God's room.

We must love our neighbour as ourself.

[<sup>2</sup> Ho: halt; come to a stop.]

cause his neighbour (be he never so simple) is equally created of God, and as full redeemed by the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Out of which commandment of love spring these: Kill not thy neighbour: defile not his wife: bear no false witness against him; and finally, not only do not these things in deed, but covet not in thine heart his house, his wife, his man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, or whatsoever is his: so that these laws, pertaining unto our neighbour, are not fulfilled in the sight of God, save with love. He that loveth not his neighbour keepeth not this commandment, 'Defile not thy neighbour's wife,' though he never touch her, or never see her, or think upon her. For the commandment is, Though thy neighbour's wife be never so fair, and thou have never so great opportunity given thee, and she consent, or haply provoke thee (as Potiphar's wife did Joseph), yet see thou love thy neighbour so well, that for very love thou cannot find in thine heart to do that wickedness. And even so he that trusteth in any thing, save in God only and in his Son Jesus Christ, keepeth no commandment at all, in the sight of God. For he that hath trust in any creature, whether in heaven or in earth, save in God and his Son Jesus, can see no cause to love God with all his heart, &c. neither to abstain from dishonouring his name, nor to keep the holy day for the love of his doctrine, nor to obey lovingly the rulers of this world; nor any cause to love his neighbour as himself, and to abstain from hurting him, where he may get profit by him, and save himself harmless. And in like wise, against this law, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' I may obey no worldly power, to do aught at any man's commandment unto the hurt of my neighbour that hath not deserved it, though he be a Turk:

And to know how contrary this law is unto our nature, and how it is damnation not to have this law written in our hearts, though we never commit the deeds; and how there is no other means to be saved from this damnation, than through repentance toward the law, and faith in Christ's blood; which are the very inward baptism of our souls, and the washing and the dipping of our bodies in the water is the outward sign. The plunging of the body under the water signifieth that we repent and profess to fight against sin and lusts, and to kill them every day more and more, with the help of God,

Our baptism  
signifieth  
that we  
repent and  
profess a  
new life.

and our diligence in following the doctrine of Christ and the leading of his Spirit; and that we believe to be washed from our natural damnation in which we are born, and from all the wrath of the law, and from all the infirmities and weaknesses that remain in us after we have given our consent unto the law, and yielded ourself to be scholars thereof; and from all the imperfectness of all our deeds done with cold love, and from all actual sin which shall chauce on us, while we enforce the contrary and ever fight there against, and hope to sin no more. And thus repentance and faith begin at our baptism, and first professing the laws of God; and continue unto our lives' end, and grow as we grow in the Spirit: for the perfecter we be, the greater is our repentance, and the stronger our faith. And thus, as the Spirit and doctrine on God's part, and repentance and faith on our part, beget us anew in Christ, even so they make us grow, and wax perfect, and save us unto the end; and never leave us until all sin be put off, and we clean purified, and full formed, and fashioned after the similitude and likeness of the perfectness of our Saviour Jesus, whose gift all is:

The perfecter we are, the greater is our repentance and the stronger is our faith.

And finally, to know that whatsoever good thing is in us, that same is the gift of grace, and therefore not of deserving, though many things be given of God through our diligence in working his laws, and chastising our bodies, and in praying for them, and believing his promises, which else should not be given us; yet our working deserveth not the gifts, no more than the diligence of a merchant in seeking a good ship bringeth the goods safe to land, though such diligence doth now and then help thereto: but when we believe in God, and then do all that is in our might, and not tempt him, then is God true to abide by his promise, and to help us, and perform alone when our strength is past:

Our works deserve not the gifts of grace.

These things, I say, to know, is to have all the scripture unlocked and opened before thee; so that if thou wilt go in, and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the scripture locked up; so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art, and the more contrariety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst nowhere through: for if thou had a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve. And therefore, because we be never taught the profession of our bap-

The principles of scripture perfectly learned, all the rest is more easy.

tism, we remain always unlearned, as well the spirituality, for all their great clergy and high schools (as we say), as the lay people. And now, because the lay and unlearned people are taught these first principles of our profession, therefore they read the scripture, and understand and delight therein. And our great pillars of holy church, which have nailed a veil of false glosses on Moses's face, to corrupt the true understanding of his law, cannot come in. And therefore they bark, and say the scripture maketh heretics, and it is not possible for them to understand it in the English, because they themselves do not in Latin. And of pure malice, that they cannot have their will, they slay their brethren for their faith they have in our Saviour, and therewith utter their bloody wolfish tyranny, and what they be within, and whose disciples. Herewith, reader, be committed unto the grace of our Saviour Jesus ; unto whom, and God our Father through him, be praise for ever and for ever. Amen.



## II. BIBLICAL PREFACES AND PROLOGUES

TYNDALE'S

ADDRESSES TO THE READERS

OF

DIFFERENT PORTIONS OF THE  
HOLY SCRIPTURES.



# TYNDALE'S

## EPISTLE TO THE READER,

SUBJOINED TO HIS FIRST PUBLISHED VERSION  
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,

1526.

### TO THE READER.

GIVE diligence, reader, I exhort thee, that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health and of eternal life; by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ: which blood crieth not for vengeance, as the blood of Abel, but hath purchased life, love, favour, grace, blessing, and whatsoever is promised in the scriptures to them that believe and obey God; and standeth between us and wrath, vengeance, curse, and whatsoever the scripture threateneth against the unbelievers and disobedient, which resist and consent not in their hearts to the law of God, that it is right, holy, just, and ought so to be. Mark the plain and manifest places of the scriptures, and in doubtful places see thou add no interpretations contrary to them; but (as Paul saith) let all be conformable and agreeing to the faith. Note the difference of the law and of the gospel. The one asketh and requireth, the other pardoneth and forgiveth. The one threateneth, the other promiseth all good things to them that set their trust in Christ only. The gospel signifieth glad tidings, and is nothing but the promises of good things. All is not gospel that is written in the gospel-book: for if the law were away, thou couldest not know what the gospel meant; even as thou couldest not see pardon and grace, except the law rebuked thee, and declared unto thee thy sin, misdeed, and trespass. Repent and believe the gospel, as

saith Christ in the first of Mark. Apply alway the law to thy deeds, whether thou find lust in thine heart to the lawward; and so shalt thou no doubt repent, and feel in thyself a certain sorrow, pain, and grief to thine heart, because thou canst not with full lust do the deeds of the law. Apply the gospel, that is to say the promises, unto the deserving of Christ, and to the mercy of God and his truth, and so shalt thou not despair; but shalt feel God as a kind and merciful father. And his Spirit shall dwell in thee, and shall be strong in thee, and the promises shall be given thee at the last, (though not by and by<sup>1</sup>, lest thou shouldest forget thyself and be negligent,) and all threatenings shall be forgiven thee for Christ's blood's sake, to whom commit thyself altogether, without respect either of thy good deeds, or of thy bad.

Them that are learned christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully, I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding, that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not; but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity, and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen through negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and shew how the scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavour ourselves, as it

[<sup>1</sup> That is, immediately.]

were, to see the it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned, and able, to remember their duty, and to help them thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body, which is the congregation of them that believe, those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose.

The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him. Amen.

#### NOTE.

This epistle appeared at the end of the 1526 Worms octavo edition of the New Testament, but was not included in the 1573 Day folio. It has been taken from an original copy in the library of Bristol Baptist College. The other prologues which follow are taken from Day, but were collated by the Parker Society editor with Tyndale's own editions or reprints of them in the 1536 Matthew's Bible.

# THE PREFACE

OF

## MASTER WILLIAM TYNDALE,

THAT HE MADE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS  
OF MOSES, CALLED GENESIS.

, ANN. 1530. JANUA. 17.<sup>1</sup>

The reason  
that the pa-  
pists make  
against the  
translation of  
the scripture  
into English.

A subtle shift  
of the pope's  
clergy, to  
cover their  
evil.

WHEN I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter end, in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. But our malicious and wily hypocrites, which are so stubborn and hard-hearted in their wicked abominations, that it is not possible for them to amend any thing at all, (as we see by daily experience, when both their livings and doings are rebuked with the truth,) say, some of them, that it is impossible to translate the scripture into English; some, that it is not lawful for the lay-people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics; as it would, no doubt, from many things which they of long time have falsely taught; and that is the whole cause wherefore they forbid it, though they other cloaks pretend: and some, or rather every one, say that it would make them rise against the king,

[<sup>1</sup> Such is the heading to this preface in Day's folio. Its wording seems to imply, that it was originally composed by Tyndale to go forth with his edition of Genesis, as separately published; and this preface is, in fact, found prefixed to a Genesis, published without the other parts of the Pentateuch, which is now in the Bodleian, and has this colophon: 'Emprinted at Marlborow in the lande of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde M.cccc.xxx. the xvii dayes of Januarii.'

In fact the work was printed at Antwerp by Johannes Hoochstraten. The margins were probably composed by Foxe for Day.]

whom they themselves (unto their damnation) never yet obeyed. And lest the temporal rulers should see their falsehood, if the scripture came to light, causeth them so to lie.

And as for my translation, in which they affirm unto the lay-people (as I have heard say) to be I wot not how many thousand heresies<sup>2</sup>, so that it cannot be mended or correct; they have yet taken so great pain to examine it, and to compare it unto that they would fain have it, and to their own imaginations and juggling terms, and to have somewhat to rail at, and under that cloak to blaspheme the truth; that they might with as little labour (as I suppose) have translated the most part of the bible. For they which in times past were wont to look on no more scripture than they found in their Duns<sup>3</sup>, or such like devilish doctrine, have yet now so narrowly looked on my translation, that there is not so much as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy. Finally, in this they be all agreed, to drive you from the knowledge of the scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother-tongue, and to keep the world still in darkness, to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

A thousand books had they lever to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the scripture should come to light. For as long as they may keep that down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and with wresting the scripture unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses before the unlearned lay-people, (when it hath but one simple,

How the papists were vexed with Tyndale's translation of the new Testament.

The papists shamed not to wrest the scriptures.

The papists have wrought wonderfully to have suppressed the scriptures.

As owls abide not the brightness of the day, so cannot the papists abide the light of the gospel.

[<sup>2</sup> Bishop Tonsal had said in a sermon that he found 2000 corruptions or errors in Tyndale's New Test. See Fulke's Defence. Park. Soc. ed. p. 61.]

[<sup>3</sup> That is, the works of Duns Scotus.]

literal sense, whose light the owls cannot abide,) that, though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

What first moved W. Tyndale to translate the scripture into English.

Rev. ix.

This bishop of London was then Tonstall, which afterward was bishop of Durham.

The pope's chaplains' pulpit is the ale-house.

Which thing only moved me to translate the new Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, whereof thou readest in Apocalypse, chap. ix. (that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without ground of scripture,) and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text, if thou see the process, order, and meaning thereof.

And even in the bishop of London's house I intended to have done it. For when I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there, (the process whereof were too long here to rehearse,) I this-wise thought in myself: This I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned; as God it knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort, which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their portesses and missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read, (except it be Albertus *de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and Linwode<sup>1</sup>, a book of constitutions, to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, and the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal; for they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers;) and therefore, (because they are thus unlearned, thought I,) when they come together to the ale-house, which is their preaching-place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. And besides that, they

[<sup>1</sup> William Lindwood, or Linwood, fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and keeper of the privy seal to Henry V. collected and digested the *Constitutions* of the archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chicheley. This compilation was printed at Paris in 1505, and is still held in esteem by canonists.]



add to, of their own heads, which I never spake, as the manner is to prolong the tale to short the time withal, and accused me secretly to the chancellor and other the bishop's officers. And, indeed, when I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, (as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser,) and yet all the priests of the country were the same day there.

Christ's apostles did meekly admonish, but the pope's sectaries brawl and scold.

As I this thought, the bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition,) praiseth exceedingly, among other, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning<sup>2</sup>. Then thought I, if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and, through the acquaintance of my master, came to sir Harry Gilford, the king's grace's comptroller<sup>3</sup>, and brought him an Oration of Isocrates, which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me; which he also did, as he shewed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself; which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God (which knoweth what is within hypocrites) saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the

Partiality sometimes in men of great learning.

How Tyndale was deceived.

[<sup>2</sup> This passage has given considerable trouble to former editors of Tyndale, and narrators of his life, because they do not find bishop Tonsal noticed in Erasmus' Annotations till 1527, when he published his fourth edition of them. But Tonsal had gained a reputation for learning and liberality to scholars as early as 1516, as appears from Erasmus' letters to Sir Thomas More, cited by Mr Anderson, p. 38, n.; and Tyndale says '*praiseth*,' not *had praised*, 'in his annotations.' Our author's language does not necessarily mean, that when he sought Tonsal's patronage, in 1523, it was in consequence of Erasmus' published praise of that prelate.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Guilford had returned to his native country, after serving with reputation in the wars with the Moors in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. He corresponded with Erasmus; and in the seventh year of Henry VIII. 1519—20, he was made master of the horse for life. Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng. Vol. i. p. 64. edit. 1769. Quoted by Mr Russell.]

next way unto my purpose. And therefore he gat me no favour in my lord's sight.

Tyndale  
could get no  
place in the  
bishop of  
London's  
house.

Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full; he had more than he could well find; and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters, (I would say our preachers,) how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world, (though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace, for they cannot but either stumble or dash themselves at one thing or another that shall clean unquiet all together,) and saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the new Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare.

Room  
enough in  
my lord's  
house for  
belly-cheer,  
but none to  
translate the  
new Testa-  
ment.

Under what manner, therefore, should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter unto our prelates, those stubborn Nimrods which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing with all craft and subtlety to quench the light of the everlasting testament, promises, and appointment made between God and us, and heaping the fierce wrath of God upon all princes and rulers; mocking them with false feigned names of hypocrisy, and serving their lusts at all points, and dispensing with them even of the very laws of God, of which Christ himself testifieth, Matt. v., that "not so much as one tittle thereof may perish, or be broken;" and of which the prophet saith, Psalm cxviii., "Thou hast commanded thy laws to be kept" *meod*<sup>1</sup>, that is, in Hebrew, exceedingly, with all diligence, might, and power; and have made them so mad with their juggling charms and crafty persuasions, that they think it a full satisfaction for all their wicked lying to torment such as tell them truth, and to burn the word of their souls' health, and slay whosoever believe thereon?

Tyndale's  
submission is

Notwithstanding yet I submit this book, and all other

[<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxix. (numbered in Vulgate cxviii.) v. 4. **יְמִדָּה**.]

that I have either made or translated, or shall in time to come, (if it be God's will that I shall further labour in his harvest,) unto all them that submit themselves unto the word of God, to be corrected of them; yea, and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt, if it seem worthy, when they have examined it with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct.

to all such as  
submit them-  
selves to God.

# PROLOGUES BY WILLIAM TYNDALE

SHEWING

## THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURE, WHICH HE WROTE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

Not the  
tongue, but  
the life,  
proveth a  
true gospel-  
ier.

THOUGH a man had a precious jewel and a rich, yet if he wist not the value thereof, nor wherefore it served, he were neither the better nor richer of a straw. Even so, though we read the scripture, and babble of it never so much, yet if we know not the use of it, and wherefore it was given, and what is therein to be sought, it profiteth us nothing at all. It is not enough, therefore, to read and talk of it only, but we must also desire God, day and night instantly, to open our eyes, and to make us understand and feel wherefore the scripture was given, that we may apply the medicine of the scripture, every man to his own sores; unless that we intend to be idle disputers, and brawlers about vain words, ever gnawing upon the bitter bark without, and never attaining unto the sweet pith within, and persecuting one another in defending of lewd imaginations and fantasies of our own invention.

The truest  
touchstone  
of religion is  
Christ's  
gospel.

The scripture  
of God is the  
sword of the  
spirit.

Paul, in the third of the second epistle to Timothy, saith, "that the scripture is good to teach," (for that ought men to teach, and not dreams of their own making, as the pope doth,) "and also to improve;" for the<sup>1</sup> scripture is the touchstone that trieth all doctrines, and by that we know the false from the true. And in the vith to the Ephesians he calleth it "the sword of the Spirit," because it killeth hypocrites, and uttereth and improveth their false inventions. And in the xvth to the Romans he saith, "All that are written are written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope:" that is, the ensam-

[<sup>1</sup> In the 'Pentateuch corrected' of 1534, which is preserved in the Museum of the Baptists' college, it is, *that scripture*.]

ples that are in the scripture comfort us in all our tribulations, and make us to put our trust in God, and patiently to abide his leisure. And in the xth of the first to the Corinthians he bringeth in examples of the scripture to fear us, and to bridle the flesh, that we cast not the yoke of the law of God from off our necks, and fall to lusting and doing of evil.

So now the scripture is a light, and sheweth us the true way, both what to do and what to hope for; and a defence from all error, and a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity that we sin not. Seek therefore in the scripture as thou readest it, \*first the law, what God commandeth us to do; and secondarily, the promises, which God promiseth us again, namely in Christ Jesus our Lord. Then seek ensamples, first of comfort, how God purgeth all them, that submit themselves to walk in his ways, in the purgatory of tribulation, delivering them yet at the latter end, and never suffering any of them to perish that cleave fast to his promises. And, finally, note the ensamples which are written to fear the flesh, that we sin not: that is, how God suffereth the ungodly and wicked sinners that resist God, and refuse to follow him, to continue in their wickedness; ever waxing worse and worse, until their sin be so sore increased, and so abominable, that if they should longer endure they would corrupt the very elect. But for the elect's sake God sendeth them preachers. Nevertheless they harden their hearts against the truth, and God destroyeth them utterly, and beginneth the world anew<sup>2</sup>.\*

Tribulation  
is the gift of  
God.

What we  
ought to seek  
in the scrip-  
tures.

This comfort shalt thou evermore find in the plain text and literal sense. Neither is there any story so homely, so rude, yea, or so vile (as it seemeth outward), wherein is

[<sup>2</sup> The passage between asterisks is a substitute, in Day's text, for a much longer passage in Tyndale's 'Pentateuch corrected:' but the use of the verb *fear*, for *to cause fear*, in the substituted passage, is so peculiarly Tyndale's, as to leave little doubt that he himself introduced this change into some later edition of this Prologue to Genesis; and it therefore would not be right to insert here what its author deliberately erased. As, however, the removed passage contains valuable instruction, and was probably only struck out of the Prologue, because it was, in fact, less applicable to Genesis than to most other parts of the narrative portion of the old Testament, the reader will find it at the end of this Prologue.]

A goodly  
comfort  
against de-  
spiration.

not exceeding great comfort. And when some, which seem to themselves great clerks, say, 'They wot not what more profit is in many gests of the scripture, if they be read without an allegory, than in a tale of Robin Hood:' say thou, 'That they were written for our consolation and comfort; that we despair not, if such like happen unto us. We be not holier than Noe, though he were once drunk; neither better beloved than Jacob, though his own son defiled his bed. We be not holier than Lot, though his daughters through ignorance deceived him; nor, peradventure, holier than those daughters. Neither are we holier than David, though he brake wedlock, and upon the same committed abominable murder. All those men have witness of the scripture that they pleased God, and were good men, both before that those things chanced them, and also after. Nevertheless such things happened them for our ensample, not that we should counterfeit their evil; but if, while we fight with ourselves, enforcing to walk in the law of God as they did, we yet fall likewise, that we despair not, but come again to the laws of God, and take better hold.'

Ensamples  
of their evils  
not to bolder  
us, but to  
fear us from  
sin and de-  
spiration.

We read, since the time of Christ's death, of virgins that have been brought unto the common stews, and there defiled; and of martyrs that have been bound, and whores have abused their bodies. Why? The judgments of God are bottomless. Such things chanced partly for ensamples; partly, God through sin healeth sin. Pride can neither be healed, nor yet appear, but through such horrible deeds. Peradventure they were of the pope's sect, and rejoiced fleshly; thinking that heaven came by deeds, and not by Christ, and that the outward deed justified them and made them holy, and not the inward spirit received by faith, and the consent of the heart unto the laws of God.

How we  
ought to pre-  
pare our-  
selves to the  
reading of  
the scrip-  
tures.

As thou readest, therefore, think that every syllable pertaineth to thine own self, and suck out the pith of the scripture, and arm thyself against all assaults. First note with strong faith the power of God, in creating all of nought; then mark the grievous fall of Adam, and of us all in him, through the light regarding of the commandment of God. In the ivth chapter, God turneth him unto Abel, and then to his offering, but not to Cain and his offering: where thou seest that though the deeds of the evil appear outwardly as

glorious as the deeds of the good, yet in the sight of God, which looketh on the heart, the deed is good because of the man, and not the man good because of his deed. In the vith, God sendeth Noe to preach to the wicked, and giveth them space to repent: they wax hard-hearted, God bringeth them to nought, and yet saveth Noe, even by the same water by which he destroyed them. Mark also what followed the pride of the building of the tower of Babel.

Consider how God sendeth forth Abraham out of his own country into a strange land, full of wicked people, and gave him but a bare promise with him, that he would bless him and defend him. Abraham believed, and that word saved and delivered him in all perils: so that we see how that man's life is not maintained by bread only, as Christ saith, but much rather by believing the promises of God. Behold how soberly, and how circumspectly, both Abraham and also Isaac behave themselves among the infidels. Abraham buyeth that which might have been given him for nought, to cut off occasions. Isaac, when his wells which he had digged were taken from him, giveth room and resisteth not. Moreover, they ear<sup>1</sup> and sow, and feed their cattle, and make confederations, and take perpetual truce, and do all outward things even as they do which have no faith; for God hath not made us to be idle in this world. Every man must work godly and truly, to the uttermost of the power that God hath given him; and yet not trust therein, but in God's word or promise, and God will work with us, and bring that we do to good effect: and then, when our power will extend no further, God's promises will work all alone.

Faith our  
surest shield  
in all assaults.

We may not  
trust in our  
works, but in  
the word and  
promise of  
God.

How many things also resisted the promises of God to Jacob! And yet Jacob conjureth God with his own promises, saying, "O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O Lord, which saidest unto me, Return unto thine own country, and unto the place where thou wast born, and I will do thee good; I am not worthy of the least of those mercies, nor of that truth which thou hast done to thy servant: I went out hither with a staff, and come home with two droves: deliver me out of the hands of my brother Esau, for I fear him greatly," &c. And God delivered him, and will likewise all that call unto his promises with a repent-

God burthen-  
ed with his  
promise.

[<sup>1</sup> That is, plough.]

ing heart, were they never so great sinners. Mark also the weak infirmities of the man. He loveth one wife more than another, one son more than another. And see how God purgeth him. Esau threateneth him; Laban beguileth him; the beloved wife is long barren; his daughter is ravished; his wife is defiled, and that of his own son. Rachel dieth, Joseph is taken away, yea, and, as he supposed, rent of wild beasts. And yet how glorious was his end! Note the weakness of his children, yea, and the sin of them, and how God through their own wickedness saved them. These ensamples teach us, that a man is not at once perfect the first day he beginneth to live well. They that be strong, therefore, must suffer with the weak, and help to keep them in unity and peace one with another, until they be stronger.

The Holy Ghost breatheth where and when it pleaseth him.

Note what the brethren said when they were attached<sup>1</sup> in Egypt: "We have verily sinned (said they) against our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and would not hear him; and therefore is this tribulation come upon us." By which ensample thou seest how that conscience of evil doings findeth men out at last, but namely in tribulation and adversity: there temptation, and also desperation, yea, and the very pains of hell, find us out: there the soul feelth the fierce wrath of God, and wisheth mountains to fall on her, and to hide her (if it were possible) from the angry face of God.

Conscience of evil doings findeth out evil men.

Mark also, how great evils follow of how little an occasion. Dinah goeth but forth alone to see the daughters of the country, and how great mischief and trouble followed! Jacob loved but one son more than another, and how grievous murder followed in their hearts! These are ensamples for our learning, to teach us to walk warily and circumspectly in the world of weak people, that we give no man occasions of evil.

Of small occasions do rise great evils.

Finally, see what God promised Joseph in his dreams. Those promises accompanied him always, and went down with him even into the deep dungeon, and brought him up again, and never forsook him, till all that was promised was fulfilled. These are ensamples written for our learning (as Paul saith), to teach us to trust in God in the strong fire of tribulation and purgatory of our flesh; and that they which sub-

Ensamples for our learning.

[<sup>1</sup> Pent. of 1534, tached: i. e. arrested.]



mit themselves to follow God, should note and mark such things: for their learning and comfort is the fruit of the scripture, and cause why it was written. And with such a purpose to read it, is the way to everlasting life, and to those joyful blessings that are promised unto all nations in the Seed of Abraham; which Seed is Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honour and praise for ever, and unto God our Father through him. Amen.

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[The passage mentioned in note 2. p. 399, as forming part of this prologue in its earliest editions, and as having had a few sentences, more closely connected with the subject of Genesis, inserted in its place in Day, stands as follows in Tyndale's Pentateuch of 1534.]

Seek therefore in the scripture, as thou readest it, chiefly and above all, the covenants made between God and us; that is to say, the law and commandments which God commandeth us to do; and then the mercy promised unto all them that submit themselves unto the law. For all the promises throughout the whole scripture do include a covenant: that is, God bindeth himself to fulfil that mercy unto thee only if thou wilt endeavour thyself to keep his laws; so that no man hath his part in the mercy of God, save he only that loveth his law, and consenteth that it is righteous and good, and fain would do it, and ever mourneth because he now and then breaketh it through infirmity, or doth it not so perfectly as his heart would.

And let love interpret the law, that thou understand this to be the final end of the law, and the whole cause why the law was given; even to bring thee to the knowledge of God, how that he hath done all things for thee, that thou mightest love him again with all thine heart, and thy neighbour for his sake as thyself, and as Christ loved thee: because thy neighbour is the son of God also, and created unto his likeness as thou art, and bought with as dear blood as art thou. Whosoever feelth in his heart that every man ought to love his neighbour as Christ loved him, and consenteth thereto, and enforceth to come thereto, the same only understandeth the law aright, and can interpret it. And he that submitteth

not himself, in the degree he is in, to seek his neighbour's profit as Christ did his, can never understand the law, though it be interpreted to him ; for that love is the light of the law, to understand it by.

And behold how righteous, how honest, and how due a thing it is by nature, that every man love his neighbour unfeignedly even as himself, for his Father's sake. For it is the father's great shame and his high displeasure, if one brother hurt another. If one brother be hurt of another, he may not avenge himself, but must complain to his father, or to them that have authority of his father, to rule in his absence. Even so if any of God's children be hurt by any of his brethren, he may not avenge himself with band or heart. God must avenge. And the governors and ministers of the law that God hath ordained to rule us by, concerning our outward conversation of one with another, they must avenge. If they will not avenge, but rather maintain wrong and be oppressors themselves, then must we tarry patiently till God come, which is ever ready to reap tyrants off the face of the earth, as soon as their sins are ripe.

Consider also what wrath, vengeance, and plagues God threateneth to them that are rebellious and disobedient.

Then go to and read the stories of the bible for thy learning and comfort, and see every thing practised before thine eyes ; for according to those ensamples shall it go with thee and all men until the world's end : so that into whatsoever case or state a man may be brought, according to whatsoever ensample of the bible it be, his end shall be according as he there seeth and readeth. As God there warneth ere he smite, and suffereth long ere he take extremo vengeance, so shall he do with us. As they that turn are there received to mercy, and they that maliciously resist perish utterly, so shall it be with us. As they that resist the counsel of God perish through their own counsel, so shall it be with us until the world's end. As it went with their kings and rulers, so shall it go with ours. As it was with their common people, so shall it be with ours. As it was with their spiritual officers, so shall it be with ours. As it was with their true prophets, so shall it be with ours until the world's end. As they had ever among them false prophets and true, and as their false persecuted the true, and

moved the princes to slay them, so shall it be with us until the end of the world. As there was among them but a few true-hearted to God, so shall it be among us; and as their idolatry was, so shall ours be, until the end of the world. All mercy that is shewed there is a promise unto thee, if thou turn to God. And all vengeance and wrath shewed there is threatened to thee, if thou be stubborn and resist. And this learning and comfort shalt thou evermore find in the plain text and literal sense, &c.

## A TABLE,

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF  
MOSES, CALLED GENESIS.

ABRECH. Tender father; or, as some will, Bow the knee<sup>1</sup>.

ARK. A ship made flat, as it were a chest or a coffer.

[<sup>1</sup> These two explanations of אֲבֹרֶךְ, the word proclaimed before Joseph, Gen. xli. 43, are retained in the margin and text of our authorised version. The first is the proper one, if we are to suppose that the four letters are two words, אֶבְרַךְ; whilst the second might be a correct interpretation, if we are to consider the word as the hiphil imperative of בִּרַךְ, with the formative servile ה changed into א, as occurs in some other instances.

The interpretation, 'tender father,' Tyndale could neither have learnt from the Greek Septuagint, nor from Luther's German version, nor from the Latin Vulgate; which last two have been rashly said to have been the only sources from whence he could translate. The Greek translator has either left the word אֲבֹרֶךְ unnoticed, or has supposed it to be the Egyptian term for a herald. Luther has paraphrased it, *Er ist Des Landes Fürst*, which he may have taken from the Chaldee paraphrast, whose words are יְיָ אֱבָרָא לְמַלְכָּא. The Vulgate has, *Ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*.

**BISSE**<sup>1</sup>. Fine white, whether it be silk or linen.

**BLESS**. God's blessings are his gifts : as in the first chapter he blessed them, saying, "Grow and multiply, and have dominion," &c. And in the ninth chapter he blessed Noah and his sons, and gave them dominion over all beasts, and authority to eat them. And God blessed Abraham with cattle and other riches. And Jacob desired Esau to receive the blessing which he brought him, that is, the present and gift. God blessed the seventh day ; that is, gave it a pre-eminence, that men should rest therein from bodily labour, and learn to know the will of God and his laws, and how to work their works godly all the week after. God also blesseth all nations in Abraham's Seed ; that is, he turneth his love and favour unto them, and giveth them his Spirit and knowledge of the true way, and lust and power to walk therein, and all for Christ's sake, Abraham's son.

**CAIN**. So is it written in Hebrew. Notwithstanding, whether we call him *Cain*, or *Caim*, it maketh no matter, so we understand the meaning. Every land hath his manner : that we call *John*, the Welshmen call *Evan*, the Dutch *Haunce*. Such difference is between the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin ; and that maketh them that translate out of the Hebrew vary in names from them that translate out of Latin or Greek<sup>2</sup>.

**CURSE**. God's curse is the taking away of his benefits ; as God cursed the earth, and made it barren. So now hunger, dearth, war, pestilence, and such like, are yet right curses, and signs of the wrath of God unto the unbelievers ; but unto them that know Christ they are very blessings, and that wholesome cross and true purgatory of our flesh, through which all must go that will live godly and be saved : as

[<sup>1</sup> The word used by Tyndale in Genesis xli. 42, where the authorised version has *fine linen*, and in its margin *silk*. Tyndale has evidently formed the word from *Búσσος*, which occurs in Luke xvi. 19.]

[<sup>2</sup> It is thus that, having to follow the Greek in the New Testament, Tyndale wrote, and our authorised version continues, Osec. Gr. Ὠσηέ, in Rom. ix. 25. instead of Hosea, or more correctly Hoshea, for *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*. But in Heb. iv. 8, Tyndale writes Josue, not suffering a defect in the Greek alphabet to restrain him from copying the Hebrew name with sufficient closeness to avoid a confusion between the son of Nun and Jesus Christ.]

thou readest, Matt. v. "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake," &c. And Heb. xii. "The Lord chastiseth whom he loveth; and scourgeth all the children that he receiveth." Matt. v.  
Heb. xii.

EDEN. Pleasure.

FIRMAMENT. The sky<sup>3</sup>.

FAITH, is the believing of God's promises, and a sure trust in the goodness and truth of God: which faith justified Abraham, and was the mother of all his good works which he afterwards did. Gen. xv. For faith is the goodness of all works in the sight of God. Good works are things of God's commandment, wrought in faith; and to sew a shoe at the commandment of God, to do thy neighbour service withal, with faith to be saved by Christ, as God promiseth us, is much better than to build an abbey of thine own imagination, trusting to be saved by the feigned works of hypocrites. Jacob robbed Laban his uncle; Moses robbed the Egyptians; and Abraham is about to slay and burn his own son: and all are holy works, because they are wrought in faith at God's commandment. To steal, rob, and murder, are no holy works before worldly people; but unto them that have their trust in God they are holy, when God commandeth them. What God commandeth not, getteth no reward with God. Holy works of men's imaginations receive their reward here, as Christ testifieth, Matt. vi. Howbeit, of faith and works I have spoken abundantly in *Mammon*. Matt. vi. Let him that desireth more seek there.

GRACE. Favour: as Noah found grace; that is to say, found favour and love.

HAM and CAM all one<sup>4</sup>.

[<sup>3</sup> The rendering of *קִפְּזָא* *firmamentum* is traceable to the LXX. who have used the equivalent word *στέρωμα*. But the adoption of the word *στέρωμα* seems to have sprung from a system of philosophy to which the Pharisees were inclined. It receives no countenance from the Hebrew original, which would be most closely copied by rendering it *expanse*. Tyndale, adopting the word *firmament*, which he found in general use, has explained it by *sky*; that his readers might understand that *strength* was not to be taken as any part of the idea attached to his use of the word.]

[<sup>4</sup> He means that the Cam, or Cham, of the Vulgate, and the Ham of the English translation, are alike intended for copies of the Hebrew *חַם*; only differing because the Hebrew letter *ח* has no exact equivalent in the Roman alphabet.]

JEHOVAH, is God's name; neither is any creature so called; and it is as much to say as, One that is of himself, and dependeth of nothing. Moreover, as oft as thou seest LORD in great letters (except there be any error in the printing), it is in Hebrew *Jehovah*, Thou that art; or, He that is<sup>1</sup>.

MARSHAL. In Hebrew he is called *Sartabaim*: as thou wouldest say, Lord of the slaughtermen. And though that *Tabaim* be taken for cooks in many places, (for the cooks did slay the beasts themselves in those days,) yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also<sup>2</sup>. And that I thought it should here best signify, inasmuch as he had the oversight of the king's prison, and the king's prisoners, were they never so great men, were under his custody: and therefore I call him chief marshal; an officer, as it were the lieutenant of the Tower, or master of the Marshalsea.

Gen. xl. xiv.

SLIME was their mortar, xith chapter; and slime-pits, xivth chapter. That slime was a fatness that oosed out of the earth, like unto tar; and thou mayest call it cement, if thou wilt.

SILOH, after some, is as much to say as *sent*; and after some, *happy*; and after some, it signifieth Messias<sup>3</sup>, that is to say, *anointed*, and that we call Christ after the Greek word. And it is a prophecy of Christ; for after all the other tribes were in captivity, and their kingdom destroyed, yet the tribe

[<sup>1</sup> When Tyndale thus explains Jehovah, he must be understood to mean that if God be addressed by that name, it is like saying, O thou self-existent one; and when he is spoken of by that name, it is like saying, The self-existent one.]

[<sup>2</sup> שַׂרְטָבַיִם occurs Gen. xxxvii. 34, and is rendered in our authorised version, Captain of the guard; whilst the margin gives both of Tyndale's explanations of the word. What he has said of מַבְחָיִם is in exact agreement with the best lexicographers.]

[<sup>3</sup> שִׁלֹּה. Gen. xlix. 10. Tyndale's first remark, on Shiloh, is doubtless allusive to the Latin Vulgate; in which it is rendered *Qui mittendus est*. But this rendering is indefensible except on the supposition that Jerome read שִׁל, where the ordinary reading is שִׁלֹּה.]

When he says, 'after some it is equivalent to *happy*,' he alludes to those who consider the word as a derivative from שִׁלֹּה. And when he alters his expression and says, 'after some it signifieth Messias,' he alludes to the Rabbinical interpreters, who derive it from שִׁיל, secundum, and say it means 'his son,' 'the Messiah.'

of Judah had a ruler of the same blood, even unto the coming of Christ: and about the coming of Christ the Romans conquered them, and the emperor gave the kingdom of the tribe Judah unto Herod, which was a stranger, even an Edomite, of the generation of Esau.

TESTAMENT; that is, an appointment made between God and man, and God's promises. And sacrament is a sign representing such appointment and promises; as the rainbow representeth the promise made to Noe, that God will no more drown the world. And circumcision representeth the promises of God to Abraham, on the one side; and that Abraham and his seed should circumcise, and cut off the lusts of their flesh, on the other side, to walk in the ways of the Lord: as baptism, which is come in the room thereof, now signifieth on the one side, how that all that repent and believe are washed in Christ's blood; and on the other side, how that the same must quench and drown the lusts of the flesh, to follow the steps of Christ.

TYRANTS. "There were tyrants in the earth in those days, for the sons of God saw the daughters of men," &c. The sons of God were the prophets' children, which, though they succeeded their fathers, fell yet from the right way; and through falsehood of hypocrisy subdued the world under them, and became tyrants; as the successors of the apostles have played with us.

VAPOUR. A dewy mist, as the smoke of a seething pot.

WALK. To walk with God is to live godly, and to walk in his commandments. Enos walked with God, and was no more seen; he lived godly, and died. God took him away; that is, God hid his body as he did Moses and Aaron's, lest haply they should have made an idol of him; for he was a great preacher and a holy man.

ZAPHNATH PAENEAL. Words of Egypt are they (as I suppose); and as much to say as, 'a man to whom secret things he opened;' or 'an expounder of secret things,' as some interpret it<sup>4</sup>.

[<sup>4</sup> זָפְנַת פִּאֵנֵאל. Gen. xli. 45. The Greek translator in the Septuagint has not given an interpretation of these words, but writes them *ἑρμηνεύων*, according to some copies. *ἑρμηνεύων*, according to others; and these, according to Simons. —to reconcile the text with

That Joseph brought the Egyptians into such a subjection, would seem unto some a very cruel deed: howbeit, it was a very equal way; for they paid but the fifth part of that that grew on the ground, and therewith were they quit of all duties, both of rent, custom, tribute, and toll; and the king therewith found them lords, and all ministers, and defended them. We now pay half so much unto the priests only, beside their other crafty exactions. Then pay we rent yearly, though there grow never so little on the ground; and yet, when the king calleth, pay we never the less. So that if we look indifferently, their condition was easier than ours; and but even, a very indifferent way both for the common people, and the king also.

See, therefore, that thou look not on the ensamples of the scripture with worldly eyes, lest thou prefer Cain before Abel, Ismael before Isaac, Esau before Jacob, Reuben before Judah, Zarah before Phares, Manasses before Ephraim, and even the worst before the best, as the manner of the world is.

two different Coptic dialects. Joh. Simons. Lex. corrected by J. Godf. Eichorn. Halæ, 1793. The Latin Vulgate has: *Vocavit eum lingua Ægyptiaca, salvatorem mundi*; which nearly agrees with Simon's explanation of the Coptic words. Luther has, *stancite in den heimlichen rath*. So that Tyndale was not guided by any of these translations, in forming his opinion respecting the meaning of these words: and his interpretation has not only been continued in the margin of our authorised version; but has also been adopted and defended by Professor Robertson, who says, on these words, *Dictus est (Josephus) Ægyptiaca, Occultorum revelator, vel Abditorum index et doctor*. *Clavis Pentat.* No. 1891.]

#### NOTE.

Tyndale appended 'tables' at the end of Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy, and also at the end of the New Testament. They were inserted to help the ordinary reader, as Tyndale had promised in 1526 (see p. 28). The last appeared in the 1534 edition under the heading: 'These thinges haue I added to fill vp the leffe withall.'



## A PROLOGUE

INTO THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES, CALLED EXODUS.

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OF the preface upon Genesis mayest thou understand how to behave thyself in this book also, and in all other books of the scripture. Cleave unto the text and plain story, and endeavour thyself to search out the meaning of all that is described therein, and the true sense of all manner of speakings of the scripture; of proverbs, similitudes, and borrowed speech, whereof I entreated in the end of The Obedience; and beware of subtle allegories.

Learn here  
how to read  
and under-  
stand the  
scripture.

And note every thing earnestly, as things pertaining unto thine own heart and soul.

For as God used himself unto them of the old Testament, even so shall he unto the world's end use himself unto us which have received his holy scripture, and the testimony of his Son Jesus. As God doth all things here for them that believe his promises, and hearken unto his commandments, and with patience cleave unto him, and walk with him; even so shall he do for us, if we receive the witness of Christ with a strong faith, and endure patiently, following his steps. And on the other side, as they that fell from the promise of God through unbelief, and from his law and ordinances through impatience of their own lusts, were forsaken of God, and so perished; even so shall we, as many as do likewise, and as many as mock with the doctrine of Christ, and make a cloak of it to live fleshly, and to follow our lusts.

If we hearken  
unto the  
voice of God,  
and bend our-  
selves to do  
his will, he  
will be our  
God, and help  
us; but  
otherwise, he  
will plague  
us as he  
plagued the  
unthankful  
and faithless  
Jews.

Note thereto, how God is found true at the last; and how, when all is past remedy, and brought into desperation, he then fulfilleth his promises, and that by an abject and a cast-away, a despised and a refused person; yea, and by a way impossible to believe.

The cause of all captivity of God's people is this: the world ever hated them for their faith and trust which they have in God; but in vain, until they fall from the faith of the promises, and love of the law and ordinances of God, and

Trust and believe in God, and care not what the world say.

The world liketh well all wicked liuers and ungodly people.

Here is set forth the office of every good person.

Temptation is the trial of true Christians.

put their trust in holy deeds of their own finding, and live altogether at their own lust and pleasure, without regard of God, or respect of their neighbour. Then God forsaketh us, and sendeth us into captivity for our dishonouring of his name and despising of our neighbour. But the world persecuteth us for our faith in Christ only, (as the popo now doth,) and not for our wicked living. For in his kingdom thou mayest quietly, and with licence, and under a protection, do whatsoever abomination thy heart lusteth; but God persecuteth us because we abuse his holy testament, and because that, when we know the truth, we follow it not.

Note, also, the mighty hand of the Lord, how he playeth with his adversaries, and provoketh them, and stirreth them up a little and a little, and delivereth not his people in an hour; that both the patience of his elect, and also the worldly wit and wily policy of the wicked, wherewith they do fight against God, might appear.

Mark the long-suffering and soft patience of Moses, and how he loveth the people, and is ever between the wrath of God and them, and is ready to live and die with them, and to be put out of the book that God had written for their sakes, (as Paul for his brethren, Rom. ix.) and how he taketh his own wrongs patiently, and never avengeth himself. And make not Moses a figure of Christ, with Rochester<sup>1</sup>; but an ensample unto all princes, and to all that are in authority, how to rule unto God's pleasure and unto their neighbour's profit. For there is not a perfecter life in this world, both to the honour of God and profit of his neighbour, nor yet a greater cross, than to rule christianly. And of Aaron also see that thou make no figure of Christ, until he come unto his sacrificing; but an ensample unto all preachers of God's word, that they add nothing unto God's word, or take ought therefrom.

Note also, how God sendeth his promise to the people, and Moses confirmeth it with miracles, and the people believe: but when temptation cometh, they fall into unbelief, and few bide standing. Where thou seest that all be not Christians, that will be so called, and that the cross trieth the true from the feigned; for if the cross were not, Christ should have

[<sup>1</sup> That is, after the example of Fisher, bishop of Rochester.]

disciples enough. Whereof also thou seest, what an excellent gift of God true faith is, and impossible to be had without the Spirit of God. For it is above all natural power, that a man, in time of temptation, when God scourgeth him, should believe then stedfastly how that God loveth him, and careth for him, and hath prepared all good things for him, and that that scourging is an earnest that God hath elect and chosen him.

The excellency of faith which is the gift of God.

Those whom God scourgeth he dearly loveth.

Note how oft Moses stirreth them up to believe and to trust in God, putting them in remembrance alway in time of temptation of the miracles and wonders which God had wrought before-time in their eye-sight. How diligently also forbiddeth he all that might withdraw their hearts from God! To put nought to God's word, to take nought therefrom; to do only that which is right in the sight of the Lord; that they should make no manner image, to kneel down before it; yea, that they should make none altar of hewed stone, for fear of images; to flee the heathen idolatries utterly, and to destroy their idols, and cut down their groves where they worshipped; and that they should not take the daughters of them unto their sons, nor give their daughters to the sons of them: and that whosoever moved any of them to worship false gods, howsoever nigh of kin he were, they must accuse him, and bring him to death; yea, and wheresoever they heard of man, woman, or city that worshipped false gods, they must<sup>2</sup> slay them, and destroy the city for ever, and not build it again; and all because they should worship nothing but God, nor put confidence in any thing, save in his word.

A necessary lesson for a good preacher.

God commandeth that we should make no images.

The worshipping of idols or images was abhorred of God.

Yea, and how warneth he to beware of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, necromancy, and all crafts of the devil, and of dreamers, soothsayers, and of miracle-doers to destroy his word, and that they should suffer none such to live. Thou wilt haply say, 'They tell a man the truth.' What then? God will that we care not to know what shall come. He will have us care only to keep his commandments, and to commit all chances unto him. He hath promised to care for us, and to keep us from all evil. All things are in his hand; he can remedy all things; and will, for his truth's sake, if we pray him. In his promises only will he have us trust, and there rest, and to seek no farther.

Witchcraft, sorcery, &c. abhorred of God.

[<sup>2</sup> So Pent. of 1534. Day has *should*.]

Moses often rehearseth the benefits of almighty God, to move us to fear him, and to love our neighbour.

How also doth he provoke them to love; ever rehearsing the benefits of God done to them already, and the godly promises that were to come! And how goodly laws of love giveth he, to help one another; and that a man should not hate his neighbour in his heart, but love him as himself, Lev. xix. And what a charge giveth he in every place over the poor and needy, over the stranger, friendless and widow! And when he desireth to shew mercy, he rehearseth withal the benefits of God done to them at their need, that they might see a cause, at the least way in God, to shew mercy of very love unto their neighbours at their need.

God will have us to be merciful to our neighbours.

Also there is no law so simple in appearance throughout all the five books of Moses, but that there is a great reason of the making thereof, if a man search diligently. As that a man is forbid to seeth a kid in his mother's milk, moveth us unto compassion, and to be pitiful. As doth also that a man should not offer the sire, or dam, and the young both in one day. (Lev. xxii.) For it might seem a cruel thing, inasmuch as his mother's milk is, as it were, his blood: wherefore God will not have him sod therein; but will have a man shew courtesy upon the very beasts: as in another place he commandeth that we muzzle not the mouth of<sup>1</sup> the ox that treadeth out the corn, (which manner of threshing is used in hot countries,) and that because we should much rather not grudge<sup>2</sup> to be liberal and kind unto men that do us service. Or haply, God would have no such wanton meat used among his people: for the kid of itself is nourishing, and the goat's milk is restorative; and both together might be too rank, and therefore forbidden; or some other like cause there was.

All the ceremonies of the old testament were but preachers of Christ that was to come.

Of the ceremonies, sacrifices, and tabernacle, with all his glory and pomp, understand that they were not permitted only, but also commanded of God; to lead the people in the shadows of Moses and night of the old testament, until the light of Christ and day of the new testament were come: as children are led in the fantasies of youth, until the discretion of man's age be come upon them. And all was done to keep them from idolatry.

The tabernacle was ordained to the intent they might

[<sup>1</sup> So Pent. of 1534. D. wants, *the mouth of*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Pent. of 1534, has *not grudge*, which D. wants.]

have a place appointed them to do their sacrifices openly in the sight of the people, and namely, of the priests which waited thereon; that it might be seen that they did all things according to God's word, and not after the idolatry of their own imagination. And the costliness of the tabernacle, and the beauty also pertained thereunto, that they should see nothing so beautiful among the heathen, but that they should see more beautiful and wonderful at home; because they should not be moved to follow them.

The beauty of the tabernacle was to keep the Jews from hearkening to the heathen.

And in like manner, the divers fashions of sacrifices and ceremonies was to occupy their minds, that they should have no lust to follow the heathen; and the multitude of them was, that they should have so much to do in keeping them, that they should have no leisure to imagine other of their own: yea, and that God's word might be thereby in all that they did, that they might have their faith and trust in God, which he cannot have that followeth either his own inventions, or traditions of men's making, without God's word.

Finally: God hath two testaments, the old and the new. The old testament is those temporal promises which God made the children of Israel, of a good land, and that he would defend them, and of wealth and prosperity, and of temporal blessings, of which thou readest over all the law of Moses, but namely Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii., and the avoiding of all threatenings and curses, of which thou readest likewise every where, but specially in the two books above rehearsed, and the avoiding of all punishment ordained for the transgressors of the law.

God had two testaments, that is, the old and the new.

And the old testament was built altogether upon the keeping of the law and ceremonies; and was the reward of keeping of them in this life only, and reached no farther than this life and this world: as thou readest, Lev. xviii. "A man that doth them shall live therein;" which text Paul rehearseth, Rom. x. and Gal. iii.: that is, he that keepeth them shall have this life glorious, according to all the promises and blessings of the law, and shall avoid both all temporal punishment of the law, with all the threatenings and cursings also. For neither the law, even of the ten commandments, nor yet the ceremonies, justified in the heart before God, or purified unto the life to come: insomuch that Moses at his death, even forty years after the law and ceremonies were given,

The old testament was built upon the observation of the law.

The law could not give life.

complaineth, saying, "God hath not given you an heart to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear unto this day." As who should say, God hath given you ceremonies, but ye know not the use of them; and hath given you a law, but hath not written it in your hearts.

Wherefore serveth the law then, if it giveth us no power to do the law? Paul answereth them, that it was given to utter sin only, and to make it appear: as a corrosive is laid unto an old sore, not to heal it, but to stir it up, and make the disease alive; that a man might feel in what jeopardy he is, and how nigh death, and not aware; and to make a way unto the healing plaister.

The law is the  
utterer of sin.

Even so saith Paul, Gal. iii. "The law was given because of transgression," (that is, to make the sin alive, that it might be felt and seen,) "until the seed came unto whom it was promised:" that is to say, until the children of faith came, or until Christ, that Seed in whom God promised Abraham that all nations of the world should be blessed, came.

The law was  
given by God  
to shew what  
sin was.

That is, the law was given to utter sin, death, damnation, and curse, and to drive us<sup>1</sup> unto Christ, in whom forgiveness, life, justifying, and blessings were promised; that we might see so great love of God to us-ward in Christ, that we, henceforth overcome with kindness, might love again, and of love keep the commandments.

Ceremonies  
are not given  
to justify the  
heart, but to  
signify our  
justification  
by Christ.

Now<sup>2</sup> he that goeth about to quiet his conscience and to justify himself with the law, doth but heal his wounds with fretting corrosives. And he that goeth about to purchase grace with ceremonies, doth but suck the ale-pole to quench his thirst; inasmuch as the ceremonies were not given to justify the heart, but to signify the justifying and forgiveness that is in Christ's blood.

Ceremonies  
cannot justify.

Of the ceremonies, that they justify not, thou readest Heb. x. "It is impossible that sin should be done away with the blood of oxen and goats." And of the law thou readest, Gal. iii. "If there had been a law given that could have quickened," or given life, "then had righteousness," or justifying, "come by the law indeed." Now the law not only quickeneth not the heart, but also woundeth it with conscience of sin, and ministereth death and damnation unto her, 2 Cor. iii.:

[<sup>1</sup> So Day. The Pent. of 1534, wants *us*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Pent. of 1534, has *so now*.]

so that she must needs die and be damned, except she find other remedy. So far it is off that she is justified, or holpen by the law.

The new testament is those everlasting promises which are made us in Christ the Lord throughout all the scripture. And that testament is built on faith, and not in works. For it is not said of that testament, He that worketh shall live; but, "he that believeth shall live:" as thou readest, John iii. "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that none which believe in him should perish, but have life everlasting." The new testament is the everlasting promises made to us in Christ.

And when this testament is preached and believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and quickeneth it, and giveth her life, and justifieth her. The Spirit also maketh the law a lively thing in the heart; so that a man bringeth forth good works of his own accord, without compulsion of the law, without fear of threatenings or cursings, yea, and without all manner respect or love unto any temporal pleasure, but of the very power of the Spirit, received through faith, as thou readest, John i. "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name." Faith only justifieth.

And of that power they work; so that he which hath the Spirit of Christ is now no more a child: he neither learneth nor worketh now any longer for pain of the rod, or for fear of bugs<sup>3</sup> or pleasure of apples, but doth all things of his own corage<sup>4</sup>; as Christ saith, John vii. "He that believeth on me shall have rivers of living waters flowing out of his belly:" that is, all good works and all gifts of grace spring out of him naturally, and by their own accord. Thou needest not to wrest good works out of him, as a man would wring verjuice out of crabs: nay, they flow naturally out of him, as springs out of rocks. Good works spring out of the love we have to God.

The new testament was ever, even from the beginning of the world. For there were always promises of Christ to come, by faith in which promises the elect were then justified inwardly before God, as outwardly before the world by keeping of the law and ceremonies. Where true faith is, there good works do flow and abound.

And in conclusion, as thou seest blessings or cursings fol-

[<sup>3</sup> Bugs are objects of childish or superstitious terror.]

[<sup>4</sup> In Day, courage. Corage is from the low Latin *coragium*, the heart and its affections.]

The new testament was from the beginning.

Our temporal  
laws spring  
out of the law  
of nature.

low the keeping or breaking of the law of Moses; even so, naturally, do the blessings or cursings follow the keeping or breaking of the law of nature, out of which spring all our temporal laws. So that, when the people keep the temporal laws of their land, temporal prosperity, and all manner of such temporal blessings as thou readest of in Moses, do accompany them, and fall upon them. And, contrariwise, when they sin unpunished, and when the rulers have no respect unto natural<sup>1</sup> equity or honesty; then God sendeth his curses among them, as hunger, dearth, murrain, baning<sup>2</sup>, pestilence, war, oppression, with strange and wonderful diseases, and new kinds of misfortune and evil luck.

Love coun-  
selleth the  
faithful to  
work.

We must not  
presume in  
our well-  
doing, nor  
condemn  
others that  
run astray;  
the last,  
which turn-  
eth to God is  
as far for-  
ward as the  
first.

If any man ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, 'Why I work?' I answer, 'Love compelleth me.' For as long as my soul feeleth what love God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and his will and commandments, and of love work them, nor can they seem hard unto me. I think not myself better for my working, nor seek heaven, nor an higher place in heaven, because of it. For a Christian worketh to make his weak brother perfecter, and not to seek an higher place in heaven. I compare not myself unto him that worketh not. No, he that worketh not to-day, shall have grace to turn and to work to-morrow; and in the mean season I pity him, and pray for him. If I had wrought the will of God these thousand years, and another had wrought the will of the devil as long, and this day turn and be as well willing to suffer with Christ as I, he hath this day overtaken me, and is as far come as I, and shall have as much reward as I: and I envy him not, but rejoyce most of all, as of lost treasure found. For if I be of God, I have these thousand years suffered to win him, for to come and praise the name of God with me. These thousand years I have prayed, sorrowed, longed, sighed, and sought for that which I have this day found; and therefore rejoyce with all my might, and praise God for his grace and mercy.

[<sup>1</sup> So Pent. of 1534. D. wants *natural*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Pent. of 1534, banyng. Day, bannyng. The word is closely connected with bane.]



## A TABLE,

### EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES.

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ALBE. A long garment of white linen.

ARK. A coffer, or chest, as our shrines, save it was flat; and the sample of our shrines was taken thereof.

BOOTH. An house made of boughs.

BREASTLAP, or brestflap, is such a flap as thou seest in the breast of a cope.

CONSECRATE. To appoint a thing to holy uses.

DEDICATE. Purify or sanctify.

EPHOD, is a garment somewhat like an amice; save the arms came through and it was girded to. (Chap. xxv.)

GEERAS<sup>3</sup>. In weight as it were an English halfpenny, or somewhat more.

HEAVE-OFFERINGS. Because they were hoven up before the Lord.

HOUSE. He made them houses; that is, he made a kindred, or a multitude of people to spring out of them; as we say the house of David, for the kindred of David.

PEACE-OFFERING. Offering of thanksgiving of devotion, and not for conscience of sin and trespass.

POLLUTE. Defile.

RECONCILE. To make at one, and to bring in grace or favour.

SANCTIFY. To cleanse and purify; to appoint a thing unto holy uses, and to separate from unclean and unholy uses.

SANCTUARY. A place hallowed and dedicate unto God.

SHEWBREAD. Because it was always in the sight and presence of the Lord. (chap. xxv.)

Exod. xxv.

TABERNACLE. A house made tentwise, or as a pavilion.

[<sup>3</sup> Geeras. גֵּרָסָה. According to bishop Cumberland, it would weigh very nearly eleven grains, Troy weight. Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, ch. v. p. 37, Lond. ed. 1727. It was a small silver piece of money, of the value of three-halfpence. Robertson's Clavis Pentat. No. 2710.]

**TUNICLE.** Much like the uppermost garment of the deacon.

**WAIVE-OFFERING.** Because they were waiven in the priest's hands to divers quarters.

**WORSHIP.** By worshipping, whether it be in the old Testament or new, understand the bowing of a man's self upon the ground: as we oftentimes, as we kneel in our prayers, bow ourselves, and lie on our arms and hands, with our face to the ground.

\*<sup>1</sup>Of this word, I WILL BE, cometh the name of God, Jehovah, which we interpret Lord; and is as much to say as, I am that I am. (chap. iii.)

That I here call a sheep, in Hebrew is a word indifferent to a sheep and a goat both<sup>2</sup>. (chap. xii.)

The Lamb was called passover, that the very name itself should put them in remembrance what it signified; for the signs that God ordained either signified the benefits done, or promises to come, and were not dumb, as the signs of our dumb god the pope.

**JEHOVAH NISSI**<sup>3</sup>. The Lord is he that exalteth me. (chap. xvii.)\*

[<sup>1</sup> The passage between asterisks is not in the Pentateuchs of either 1530 or in 1534, but is in Day's folio.]

[<sup>2</sup> The word rendered *sheep* by Tyndale, and *lamb* in our authorised version of Exod. xii. is שֶׂה, which first occurs in the question of Isaac to his father, Gen. xxii. 7, and is acknowledged by lexicographers to be a common term for either sheep or goat.]

[<sup>3</sup> Jehovah Nissi. יְהוָה נִסִּי. Tyndale's interpretation of נִסִּי differs from the ordinary one, which is *my banner*, and which supposes it to be the substantive נֵס, with the pronominal affix, *my*. Tyndale has gone back to the root נָסַח, *to be, or make, conspicuous; to glitter, to raise on high.*]

## A PROLOGUE

INTO THE THIRD BOOK OF MOSES CALLED LEVITICUS.

THE ceremonies which are described in the book following were chiefly ordained of God (as I said in the end of the prologue upon Exodus,) to occupy the minds of that people the Israelites, and to keep them from serving of God after the imagination of their own blind zeal and good intent; that their consciences might be stablished, and they sure that they pleased God therein; which were impossible, if a man did of his own head that which was not commanded of God, nor depended of any appointment made between him and God. Such ceremonies were unto them as an ABC, to learn to spell and read; and as a nurse, to feed them with milk and pap, and to speak unto them after their own capacity, and to lisp the words unto them, according as the babes and children of that age might sound them again. For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world, and saw that sun, which we see openly, but through a cloud, and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds, a few prophets except, which yet described him unto others in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speaking, until the full age were come, that God would shew him openly unto the whole world, and deliver them from their shadows and cloud-light, and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ; and are henceforth no more necessary than a token left in remembrance of a bargain is necessary when the bargain is fulfilled. And though they seem plain childish, yet they be not altogether fruitless; as the puppets and twenty manner of trifles, which mothers permit unto their young children, be not all in vain. For albeit that such fantasies be permitted to satisfy the children's lusts, yet in that they are the

Man's wisdom is plain idolatry, it scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects.

Ceremonies to the Israelites and Jews were as good school-masters are to young scholars.

All things were first revealed in ceremonies and shadows, until it pleased Almighty God to reveal his Son Jesus Christ.

Small and little gifts, given by the

parents to their children, cause love and obedience.

Sacrifices and ceremonies serve for allegories to find out Christ.

Similitudes prove nothing, but do more plainly lead thee to understand the text.

Some ceremonies contain wholesome and profitable doctrine.

Ceremonies ordained to confirm our faith.

God's secrets were opened but to a few.

The ceremonies of them-

mother's gift, and be done in place and time at her commandment, they keep the children in awe, and make them know the mother, and also make them more apt against a more stronger age to obey in things of greater earnest.

And moreover, though sacrifices and ceremonies can be no ground or foundation to build upon; that is, though we can prove nought with them, yet when we have once found out Christ and his mysteries, then we may borrow figures, that is to say allegories, similitudes, or examples, to open Christ, and the secrets of God hid in Christ, even unto the quick, and to declare them more lively and sensibly with them than with all the words in the world. For similitudes have more virtue and power with them than bare words, and lead a man's wits farther into the pith and marrow and spiritual understanding of the thing, than all the words that can be imagined. And though also that all the ceremonies and sacrifices have, as it were, a star-light of Christ, yet some there be that have, as it were, the light of the broad day, a little before the sun-rising; and express him, and the circumstances and virtue of his death so plainly, as if we should play his passion on a scaffold, or in a stage-play, openly before the eyes of the people; as the scape-goat, the brasen serpent, the ox burnt without the host, the passover lamb, &c.: insomuch that I am fully persuaded, and cannot but believe, that God had shewed Moses the secrets of Christ, and the very manner of his death beforehand, and commanded him to ordain them for the confirmation of our faith, which are now in the clear day-light. And I believe also that the prophets, which followed Moses to confirm his prophecies, and to maintain his doctrine unto Christ's coming, were moved by such things to search farther of Christ's secrets. And though God would not have the secrets of Christ generally known, save unto a few familiar friends, which in that infancy he made of man's wit to help the other babes; yet as they had a general promise that one of the seed of Abraham should come and bless them, even so they had a general faith that God would by the same man save them, though they wist not by what means: as the very apostles, when it was oft told them, yet they could never comprehend it, till it was fulfilled in deed.

And beyond all this, their sacrifices and ceremonies, as

far forth as the promises annexed unto them extend, so far forth they saved them and justified them, and stood them in the same stead as our sacraments do us; not by the power of the sacrifice or deed itself, but by the virtue of the faith in the promise, which the sacrifice or ceremony preached, and whereof it was a token or sign. For the ceremonies and sacrifices were left with them, and commanded them, to keep the promise in remembrance, and to wake up their faith: as it is not enough to send many on errands, and to tell them what they shall do; but they must have a remembrance with them, and it be but a ring of a rush about one of their fingers; and as it is not enough to make a bargain with words only, but we must put thereto an oath, and give earnest to confirm the faith of the person with whom it is made; and in like manner if a man promise, whatsoever trifle it be, it is not believed except he hold up his finger also; such is the weakness of the world: and therefore Christ himself used oftentimes divers ceremonies in curing the sick, to stir up their faith withal. As for example: it was not the blood of the lamb that saved them in Egypt, when the angel smote the Egyptians, but the mercy of God and his truth, whereof that blood was a token and remembrance, to stir up their faiths withal. For though God make a promise, yet it saveth none finally but them that long for it, and pray God with a strong faith to fulfil it, for his mercy and truth only, and knowledge their unworthiness. And even so our sacraments (if they be truly ministered) preach Christ unto us, and lead our faiths unto Christ; by which faith our sins are done away, and not by the deed or work of the sacrament. For as it was impossible that the blood of calves should put away sin; even so is it impossible that the water of the river should wash our hearts. Nevertheless the sacraments cleanse us, and absolve us of our sins, as the priests do in preaching of repentance and faith, for which cause either other<sup>1</sup> of them were ordained; but if they preach not, whether it be the priest or the sacrament, so profit they not.

And if a man allege Christ, John in the iii<sup>rd</sup> chapter, saying, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot see the kingdom of God," and will therefore that the Holy Ghost be present in the water, and there-

[<sup>1</sup> Either other; i. e. both the one and the other.]

selves saved  
not, but faith  
in God's  
promise.

Our nature is  
so weak, that  
we must be  
helped by  
outward  
signs and  
tokens.

No man is  
helped by  
God's pro-  
mises but  
sinners that  
feel their sin.

Sacraments  
truly mini-  
stered are pro-  
fitable.

Sacraments  
truly mini-  
stered preach  
unto us re-  
pentance of  
our sins.

Not naked or dumb ceremonies, but the Holy Ghost, through faith, washeth away sins.

The difference between a sacrifice and a sacrament.

In what state we die, in the same we shall rise again, either of salvation or damnation.

The sacraments are unto the dead no sacraments at all.

Sacraments abused by the clergy.

fore the very deed or work doth put away sin; then I will send him unto Paul, which asketh his Galatians, whether they received the Holy Ghost by the deed of the law, or by preaching of faith; and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth the heart and purgeth it: which thou mayest also understand by St Paul saying, "Ye are born anew out of the water through the word." So now if baptism preach me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it; and that deed of preaching through faith doth put away my sins. For the Holy Ghost is no dumb God, nor no God that goeth a mumming. If a man say of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, that it is a sacrifice as well for the dead as for the quick, and therefore the very deed itself justifieth and putteth away sin; I answer, that a sacrifice is the slaying of the body of a beast, or a man: wherefore, if it be a sacrifice, then is Christ's body there slain, and his blood there shed; but that is not so. And therefore it is properly no sacrifice, but a sacrament, and a memorial of that everlasting sacrifice once for all, which he offered upon the cross now upon a fifteen hundred years ago; and preacheth only unto them that are alive. And as for them that be dead, it is as profitable unto them as is a candle in a lantern without light unto them that walk by the way in dark night; and as the gospel song in Latin is unto them that understand none at all, and as a sermon preached to him that is dead, and heareth it not. It preacheth unto them that are alive only: for they that be dead, if they died in the faith which that sacrament preacheth, they be safe, and are past all jeopardy. For when they were alive, their hearts loved the law of God, and therefore sinned not, and were sorry that their members sinned, and ever moved to sin; and therefore through faith it was forgiven them. And now their sinful members be dead, so that they can now sin no more; wherefore it is unto them that be dead neither sacrament nor sacrifice. But under the pretence of their soul-health, it is a servant unto our spirituality's holy covetousness; and an extortioner; and a builder of abbeys, colleges, chauntries and cathedral churches, with false-gotten goods; a pickpurse, a puller<sup>1</sup>, and a bottomless bag.

[<sup>1</sup> Poller; spelt in Day, *polar*; a plunderer.]

Some man would haply say, that the prayers of the mass help much, not the living only, but also the dead. Of the hot fire of their fervent prayer, which consumeth faster than all the world is able to bring sacrifice, I have said sufficiently in other places. Howbeit it is not possible to bring me in belief that the prayer, which helpeth her own master unto no virtue, should purchase me the forgiveness of sins. If I saw that their prayers had obtained them grace to live such a life as God's word did not rebuke, then could I soon be borne in hand that, whatsoever they asked of God, their prayers should not be in vain. But now what good can he wish me in his prayers, that envieth me Christ, the food and the life of my soul? What good can he wish me, whose heart cleaveth asunder for pain, when I am taught to repent of my evil?

The papists have had no small friend and good helper of the mass.

Hypocrites' prayers can neither profit themselves nor any man else.

Those that are enemies to the word of God, love neither God nor his people.

Furthermore, because that few know the use of the old Testament, and the most part think it nothing necessary but to make allegories, which they feign every man after his own brain at all wild adventure, without any certain rule; therefore (though I have spoken of them in another place<sup>2</sup>;) yet, lest the book come not to all men's hands that shall read this, I will speak of them here also a word or twain.

We had need to take heed every where that we be not beguiled with false allegories, whether they be drawn out of the new Testament or the old, either out of any other story, or of the creatures of the world, but namely in this book. Here a man had need to put on all his spectacles, and to arm himself against invisible spirits.

Allegories are to be well weighed and considered.

First, allegories prove nothing; and by allegories understand examples or similitudes borrowed of strange matters, and of another thing than that thou entreatest of. As though circumcision be a figure of baptism, yet thou canst not prove baptism by circumcision. For this argument were very feeble: the Israelites were circumcised, therefore we must be baptized. And in like manner, though the offering of Isaac were a figure or ensample of the resurrection, yet is this argument naught: Abraham would have offered Isaac, but God delivered him from death; therefore we shall rise again; and so forth in all other.

The greatest cause of the decay of faith and blindness that we were in was through allegories.

How allegories are to be understood.

But the very use of allegories is to declare and open a

The right use of allegories.

[<sup>2</sup> In his treatise, On the Obedience of a Christian Man, pp. 330-43.]

Baptism is the common badge of all true professors of Christ.

Baptism teacheth us repentance of sin.

The bare washing helpeth not, but through the word of faith it purifieth us.

How Christ borroweth figures of the old Testament, to make plain the texts of the new Testament.

text, that it may be the better perceived and understood. As when I have a clear text of Christ and the apostles, that I must be baptized, then I may borrow an example of circumcision to express the nature, power, and fruit, or effect of baptism. For as circumcision was unto them a common badge, signifying that they were all soldiers of God, to war his war, and separating them from all other nations, disobedient unto God : even so baptism is our common badge, and sure earnest and perpetual memorial, that we pertain unto Christ, and are separated from all that are not Christ's. And as circumcision was a token certifying them that they were received unto the favour of God, and their sins forgiven them; even so baptism certifieth us that we are washed in the blood of Christ, and received to favour for his sake : and as circumcision signified unto them the cutting away of their own lusts, and slaying of their free-will, as they call it, to follow the will of God ; even so baptism signifieth unto us repentance, and the mortifying of our unruly members and body of sin, to walk in a new life, and so forth.

And likewise, though that the saving of Noe, and of them that were with him in the ship, through water, is a figure, that is to say an example and likeness, of baptism, as Peter maketh it, (1 Pet. iii.) yet I cannot prove baptism therewith, save describe it only. For as the ship saved them in the water through faith, in that they believed God, and as the other that would not believe Noe perished; even so baptism saveth us through the word of faith which it preacheth, when all the world of the unbelieving perish. And Paul (1 Cor. x.) maketh the sea and the cloud a figure of baptism; by which, and a thousand more, I might declare it, but not prove it. Paul also in the said place maketh the rock, out of which Moses brought water unto the children of Israel, a figure or ensample of Christ; not to prove Christ (for that were impossible,) but to describe Christ only; even as Christ himself (John iii.) borroweth a similitude or figure of the brasen serpent, to lead Nicodemus from his earthly imagination into the spiritual understanding of Christ, saying : " As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that none that believe in him perish, but have everlasting life." By which similitude the virtue of Christ's death is better described than thou couldest



declare it with a thousand words. For as those murmurers against God, as soon as they repented, were healed of their deadly wounds, through looking on the brasen serpent only, without medicine or any other help, yea, and without any other reason but that God hath said it should be so; and not to murmur again, but to leave their murmuring: even so all that repent, and believe in Christ, are saved from everlasting death, of pure grace, without, and before, their good works; and not to sin again, but to fight against sin, and henceforth to sin no more.

Even so with the ceremonies of this book thou canst prove nothing, save describe and declare only the putting away of our sins through the death of Christ. For Christ is Aaron and Aaron's sons, and all that offer the sacrifice to purge sin. And Christ is all manner offering that is offered: he is the ox, the sheep, the goat, the kid, and lamb; he is the ox that is burnt without the host, and the scape-goat that carried all the sin of the people away into the wilderness: for as they purged the people from their worldly uncleannesses through blood of the sacrifices, even so doth Christ purge us from the uncleannesses of everlasting death with his own blood; and as their worldly sins could no otherwise be purged, than by blood of sacrifices, even so can our sins be no otherwise forgiven than through the blood of Christ. All the deeds in the world, save the blood of Christ, can purchase no forgiveness of sins; for our deeds do but help our neighbour, and mortify the flesh, and help that we sin no more: but and if we have sinned, it must be freely forgiven through the blood of Christ, or remain for ever.

Our duty is to do good deeds, but salvation we cannot challenge thereby.

And in like manner of the lepers thou canst prove nothing: thou canst never conjure out confession thence, howbeit thou hast an handsome example there to open the binding and loosing of our priests with the key of God's word; for as they made no man a leper, even so ours have no power to command any man to be in sin, or to go to purgatory or hell. And therefore (inasmuch as binding and loosing is one power) as those priests healed no man; even so ours cannot of their invisible and dumb power drive any man's sins away, or deliver him from hell or feigned purgatory. Howbeit if they preached God's word purely, which is the authority that Christ gave them, then they should bind and loose, kill and make

A good example taken of the lepers.

The true preaching of God's word doth bind and loose consciences.

alive again, make unclean and clean again, and send to hell and fetch thence again; so mighty is God's word. For if they preached the law of God, they should bind the consciences of sinners with the bonds of the pains of hell, and bring them unto repentance: and then if they preached unto them the mercy that is in Christ, they should loose them and quiet their raging consciences, and certify them of the favour of God, and that their sins be forgiven.

In allegories  
is both honey  
and gall; that  
is to say,  
both good  
and evil.

Finally, beware of allegories; for there is not a more handsome or apt thing to beguile withal than an allegory; nor a more subtle and pestilent thing in the world to persuade a false matter, than an allegory. And contrariwise; there is not a better, vehementer, or mightier thing to make a man understand withal, than an allegory. For allegories make a man quick-witted, and print wisdom in him, and make it to abide, where bare words go but in at the one ear, and out at the other. As this, with such like sayings: 'Put salt to all your sacrifices,' instead of this sentence, 'Do all your deeds with discretion,' greeteth<sup>1</sup> and biteth (if it be understood) more than plain words. And when I say, instead of these words, 'Boast not yourself of your good deeds,' 'Eat not the blood nor the fat of your sacrifice;' there is as great difference between them as there is distance between heaven and earth. For the life and beauty of all good deeds is of God, and we are but the carrion-lean; we are only the instrument whereby God worketh only, but the power is his: as God created Paul anew, poured his wisdom into him, gave him might, and promised him that his grace should never fail him, &c., and all without deservings, except that murdering the saints, and making them curse and rail on Christ, be meritorious. Now, as it is death to eat the blood or fat of any sacrifice, is it not (think ye) damnable to rob God of his honour, and to glorify myself with his honour?

All good  
deeds are  
God's work-  
manship, and  
we his instru-  
ments where-  
by he doth  
them.

[<sup>1</sup> So Day. The word intended by Tyndale was probably *greeteth*; used by Spenser for *pierceeth*.]

## THE PROLOGUE

INTO THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED NUMERI.

IN the second and third book they received the law; and in this fourth they begin to work and to practise. Of which practising ye see many good ensamples of unbelief, and what free-will and unbelief were the overthrow of our forefathers.

free-will doth, when she taketh in hand to keep the law of her own power, without help of faith in the promises of God; how she leaveth her masters' carcasses by the way in the wilderness, and bringeth them not into the land of rest. "Why could they not enter in? Because of their unbelief." (Heb. iii.) For had they believed, so had they been under grace, and their old sins had been forgiven them; and power should have been given them to have fulfilled the law thenceforth, and they should have been kept from all temptations that had been too strong for them. For it is written, (John i.) "He gave them power to be the sons of God, through believing in his name." Now to be the son of God is to love God and his commandments, and to walk in his way, after the ensample of his Son Christ. But these people took upon them to work without faith, as thou seest in the xivth of this book, where they would fight, and also did, without the word of promise; even when they were warned that they should not. And in the xvth again, they would please God with their holy, faithless works, (for where God's word is not, there can be no faith;) but the fire of God consumed their holy works, as it did Nadah and Abihu. (Levit. x.) And from these unbelievers turn thine eyes unto the Pharisees, which, before the coming of Christ in his flesh, had laid the foundation of free-will after the same ensample: whereon they built holy works after their own imagination, without faith of the word, so fervently that for the great zeal of them they slew the king of all holy works, and the lord of free-will; which only through his grace maketh the will free, and looseth her from bondage of sin, and giveth her love and lust unto the laws of God, and power to fulfil them. And so through their holy

Then cannot they be the children of God, which put more trust in their own works than in the blood of Jesus Christ.

Faithless works.

The Pharisees by their

free-will excluded themselves from the salvation in Christ.

works done by the power of free-will, they excluded themselves out of the holy rest of forgiveness of sins by faith in the blood of Christ.

And then look on our hypocrites, which in like manner, following the doctrine of Aristotle, and other heathen pagans, have against all the scripture set up free-will again; unto whose power they ascribe the keeping of the commandments of God. For they have set up wilful poverty of another manner than any is commanded of God: and, the chastity of matrimony utterly defied, they have set up another wilful chastity not required of God, which they swear, vow, and profess to give God, whether he will give it them or no; and compel all their disciples thereunto, saying that it is in the power of every man's free-will to observe it, contrary to Christ and his apostle Paul.

Blasphemy to Christ's death.

And, the obedience of God and man excluded, they have vowed another wilful obedience<sup>1</sup>, condemned of all the scripture; which they will yet give God, whether he will or will not.

O subtle foxes! through poverty made themselves lords of all.

And what is become of their wilful poverty? hath it not robbed the whole world, and brought all under them? Can there be either king, or emperor, or of whatsoever degree it be, except he will hold of them, and be sworn unto them to be their servant, to go and come at their lust, and to defend their quarrels, be they false or true? Their wilful poverty hath already eaten up the whole world, and is yet still greedier than ever it was, insomuch that ten worlds more were not enough to satisfy the hunger thereof.

Wilful chastity is wilful wickedness.

Moreover, besides daily corrupting of other men's wives and open whoredom, unto what abominations, too filthy to be spoken of, hath their voluntary chastity brought them!

The papists wilful obedience is common disobedience to all princes.

And as for their wilful obedience, what is it but the disobedience and the defiance both of all the laws of God and man; insomuch that if any prince begin to execute any law of man upon them, they curse him unto the bottom of hell, and proclaim him no right king, and that his lords ought no longer to obey him; and interdict his common people, as they were heathen Turks or Saracens? And if any man preach

[<sup>1</sup> He means the vow of obedience to their monastic superior, made by those who joined any monastic order; and the oath of obedience to the pope, taken by the ecclesiastics.]

them God's law, him they make an heretic and burn him to ashes. And instead of God's law and man's, they have set up one of their own imagination, which they observe with dispensations.

And yet in these works they have so great confidence, that they not only trust to be saved thereby, and to be higher in heaven than they that be saved through Christ, but also promise to all other forgiveness of their sins through the merits of the same; wherein they rest, and teach other to rest also, excluding the whole world from the rest of forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ's blood.

Our righteousness cometh not by our merits, but through faith, by the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And now, seeing that faith only letteth a man in unto rest, and unbelief excludeth him, what is the cause of this unbelief? Verily, no sin that the world seeth, but a pope-holiness, and a righteousness of their own imagination. As Paul saith, Rom. x. they be ignorant of the righteousness wherewith God justifieth, and have set up a righteousness of their own making, through which they be disohedient unto the righteousness of God. And Christ rebuketh not the Pharisees for gross sins which the world saw, but for those holy deeds which so bleared the eyes of the world, that they were taken as gods; even for long prayers, for fasting, for tithing so diligently that they left not so much as their herbs untithed, for their cleanness in washing before meat, and for washing of cups, dishes, and all manner vessels, for building the prophets' sepulchres, and for keeping the holy day, and for turning the heathen unto the faith, and for giving of alms. For unto such holy deeds they ascribed righteousness, and therefore when the righteousness of God was preached unto them they could not but persecute it, the devil was so strong in them: which thing Christ well describeth, (Luke xi.) saying, "That after the devil is cast out, he cometh again, and findeth his house swept, and made gay, and then taketh seven worse than himself and dwelleth therein; and so is the end of that man worse than the beginning." That is, when they be a little cleansed from gross sins which the world seeth, and then made gay in their own sight with the righteousness of traditions, then cometh seven, that is to say, the whole power of the devil: for seven with the Hebrews signifieth a multitude without number, and the extremity of a thing, and is a speech borrowed (I suppose) out of Leviticus, where is so oft

Faith only bringeth us to Christ, and unbelief bringeth us from Christ.

Christ rebuked the Pharisees for their holy and hypocritical deeds.

The Pharisees ascribe righteousness to works, and therefore were condemned of Christ.

The justifying of ourselves maketh the devil more busy than he would be.

What is  
meant in the  
scripture by  
this word  
seven times.

Merit-men-  
gers, the more  
their blind-  
ness is re-  
buked, the  
more they  
rebel against  
Christ and  
his gospel.

The doctrine  
of the Phari-  
sees, and the  
doctrine of  
our papists  
do well agree.

The papists  
cannot away  
with justifi-  
cation by  
faith.

Of vows.

mention made of seven. Where I would say, I will punish thee, that all the world shall take an ensample of thee; there the Jew would say, "I will circumcise thee or baptize thee seven times." And so here by seven is meant all the devils of hell, and all the might and power of the devil. For unto what further blindness could all the devils in hell bring them, than to make them believe that they were justified through their own good works? For when they once believed that they were purged from their sins, and made righteous through their own holy works, what room was there left for the righteousness that is in Christ's blood-shedding? And therefore when they be fallen into this blindness, they cannot but hate and persecute the light. And the more clear and evidently their deeds be rebuked, the fierouser and maliciouser blind are they, until they break out into open blasphemy and sinning against the Holy Ghost, which is the malicious persecuting of the clear truth, so manifestly proved that they cannot once hiss<sup>1</sup> against it: as the Pharisees persecuted Christ, because he rebuked their holy deeds; and when he proved his doctrine with the scripture and miracles, yet though they could not improve him, nor reason against him, they taught that the scripture must have some other meaning, because his interpretation undermined their foundation, and plucked up by the roots the sects which they had planted; and they ascribed also his miracles to the devil. And in like manner, though our hypocrites cannot deny but this is the scripture, yet because there can be no other sense gathered thereof, but that overthroweth their buildings, therefore they ever think that it hath some other meaning than as the words sound; and that no man understandeth it, or understood it since the time of the apostles. Or if they think that some that wrote upon it, since the apostles, understood it, they yet think that we, in like manner as we understand not the text itself, so we understand not the meaning of the words of that doctor. For when thou layest the justifying of holy works, and deniest the justifying of faith, how canst thou understand St Paul, Peter, John, and the Acts of the apostles, or any scripture at all, seeing the justifying of faith is almost all that they intend to prove?

Finally, concerning vows, whereof thou readest in the

[<sup>1</sup> To hiss, is to make an insulting objection.]

xxxth chapter, there may be many questions, whereunto I answer shortly, that we ought to put salt to all our offerings; that is, we ought to minister knowledge in all our works, and to do nothing whereof we could not give a reason out of God's words. We be now in the day-light, and all the secrets of God, and all his counsel and will is opened unto us; and he that was promised should come and bless us, is come already, and hath shed his blood for us, and hath blessed us with all manner blessings, and hath obtained all grace for us, and in him we have all. Wherefore God henceforth will

receive no more sacrifices of beasts of us, as thou readest, Heb.

x. If thou burn unto God the blood or fat of beasts, to obtain forgiveness of sins thereby, or that God should the better hear thy request, then thou dost wrong unto the blood of Christ, and Christ unto thee is dead in vain. For in him God hath promised not forgiveness of sins only, but also whatsoever we ask to keep us from sin and temptation withal. And what if thou burn frankincense unto him, what if thou burn a candle, what if thou burn thy chastity or virginity unto him for the same purpose, dost thou not like rebuke unto Christ's blood? Moreover, if thou offer gold, silver, or any other good for the same intent, is there any difference? And even so, if thou go it pilgrimage, or fastest, or goest woolward, or sprinklest thyself with holy water, or else whatsoever deed it is, or observest whatsoever ceremony it be, for like meaning, then it is like abomination. We must therefore bring the salt of the knowledge of God's word with all our sacrifices, or else we shall make no sweet savour unto God thereof.

Thou wilt ask me, Shall I vow nothing at all? Yes, God's commandment, which thou hast vowed in thy baptism. For what intent? Verily, for the love of Christ which hath bought thee with his blood, and made thee son and heir of God with him, that thou shouldest wait on his will and commandments, and purify thy members according to the same doctrine that hath purified thine heart: for if the knowledge of God's word hath not purified thine heart, so that thou consentest unto the law of God that it is righteous and good, and sorrowest that thy members move thee unto the contrary, so hast thou no part with Christ. For if thou repent not of thy sin, so it is impossible that thou shouldest believe that Christ had delivered thee from the danger thereof. If thou believe not

God accepteth for us none other sacrifice but only Jesus Christ his Son.

All holiness in our own imagination is a robbing of Christ's honour.

Faith followeth repentance of sin.

that Christ hath delivered thee, so is it impossible that thou shouldest love God's commandments. If thou love not the commandments, so is Christ's Spirit not in thee, which is the earnest of forgiveness of sin and of salvation.

Repentance  
goeth before  
faith, and  
prepareth the  
way unto  
Christ.

How our  
works are  
good in the  
sight of God.

The work  
saveth not,  
but the word,  
that is to say,  
the promise.

An apt simi-  
litude for  
reward of  
good works.

All vows  
must be made  
for the mor-  
tifying or  
taming of our  
members, or  
the edifying  
of our neigh-  
bours, or else  
they are  
wicked.

For scripture teacheth, first repentance, then faith in Christ, that for his sake sin is forgiven to them that repent; then good works, which are nothing save the commandment of God only. And the commandments are nothing else save the helping of our neighbours at their need, and the taming of our members, that they might be pure also, as the heart is pure through hate of vice and love of virtue, as God's word teacheth us: which works must proceed out of the faith; that is, I must do them for the love which I have to God for that great mercy which he hath shewed me in Christ, or else I do them not in the sight of God. And that I faint not in the pain of the slaying of the sin that is in my flesh, mine help is the promise of the assistance of the power of God, and the comfort of the reward to come; which reward I ascribe unto the goodness, mercy, and truth, of the promiser that hath chosen me, called me, taught me, and given me the earnest thereof; and not unto the merits of my doings or sufferings: for all that I do and suffer is but the way to the reward, and not the deserving thereof. As if the king's grace should promise me to defend me at home in mine own realm<sup>1</sup>, yet the way thither is through the sea, wherein I might haply suffer no little trouble. And yet for all that, if I might live in rest when I come thither, I would think, and so would others say, that my pains were well rewarded; which reward and benefit I would not proudly ascribe unto the merits of my pains taken by the way, but unto the goodness, mercifulness, and constant truth of the king's grace whose gift it is, and to whom the praise and thanks thereof belongeth of duty and right. So now a reward is a gift, given freely of the goodness of the giver, and not of the deservings of the receiver. Thus it appeareth, that if I vow, whatsoever it be, for any other purpose than to tame my members, and to be an ensample of virtue and edifying unto my neighbour, my sacrifice is unsavoury, and clean without salt, and my lamp without oil, and

[<sup>1</sup> He means the kingdom of England, in which he was born, and to which he could not return because of the men who sought his life.]



I one of the foolish virgins, and shall be shut out from the feast of the bridegroom, when I think myself most sure to enter in.

If I vow voluntary poverty, this must be my purpose, that I will be content with a competent living, which cometh unto me either by succession of mine elders, or which I get truly with my labour in ministering, and doing service unto the commonwealth, in one office or in another, or in one occupation or other, because that riches and honour shall not corrupt my mind, and draw mine heart from God; and to give an example of virtue and edifying unto other; and that my neighbour may have a living by me as well as I. If I make a cloak of dissimulation of my vow, laying a net of feigned beggary to catch superfluous abundance of riches, and high degree and authority, and through the estimation of false holiness to feed and maintain my slothful idleness with the sweat, labour, lands, and rents of other men, after the example of our spirituality, robbing them of their faiths, and God of his honour; turning unto mine hypocrisy that confidence which should be given unto the promises of God only; am I not a wily fox, and a ravening wolf in a lamb's skin, and a painted sepulchre fair without and filthy within? In like manner, though I seek no worldly promotion thereby, yet if I do it to be justified therewith, and to get an higher place in heaven; thinking that I do it of my own natural strength, and of the natural power of my free-will, and that every man hath might even so to do, and that they do it not is their fault and negligence, and so, with the proud Pharisee, in comparison of myself despise the sinful publicans; what other thing do I than eat the blood and fat of my sacrifice, devouring that myself which should be offered unto God alone and his Christ? And shortly, whatsoever a man doth of his natural gifts, of his natural wit, wisdom, understanding, reason, will, and good intent, before he be otherwise and clean contrary taught of God's Spirit, and have received other wit, understanding, reason and will, is flesh, worldly, and wrought in abominable blindness; with which a man can but seek himself, his own profit, glory and honour, even in very spiritual matters. As if I were alone in a wilderness, where no man were to seek profit or praise of, yet, if I would seek heaven of God there, I could, of mine own natural gifts, seek it no other ways than for the merits and deservings of my good works, and to enter

How we ought to vow wilful poverty.

Whether fished the pope's prelates with this net or no?

Our works do not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.

therein by another way than by the door Christ, which were very theft; for Christ is Lord over all, and whatsoever any man will have of God, he must have it given him freely for Christ's sake. Now to have heaven for mine own deserving, is mine own praise, and not Christ's. For I cannot have it by favour and grace in Christ, and by mine own merits also; for free giving and deserving cannot stand together.

Desert and  
free gift are  
contraries.

If thou wilt vow of thy goods unto God, thou must put salt unto this sacrifice; that is, thou must minister knowledge in this deed, as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. i. Thou must put oil of God's word in thy lamp, and do it according to knowledge, if thou wait for the coming of the bridegroom to enter in with him into his rest. But thou peradventure<sup>1</sup> wilt hang it about the image, to move men to devotion. Devotion is a fervent love unto God's commandments, and a desire to be with God and with his everlasting promises. Now shall the sight of such riches as are shewed at St Thomas's shrine, or at Walsingham<sup>2</sup>, move a man to love the commandments of God better, and to desire to be loosed from his flesh and to be with God; or shall it not rather make his poor heart sigh, because he hath no such at home, and to wish part of it in another place? The priest shall have it in God's stead. Shall the priest have it? If the priest be bought with Christ's blood, then he is Christ's servant, and not his own; and ought therefore to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to minister Christ's sacraments unto them purely, for very love, and not for filthy lucre's sake, or to be lord over them, as Peter teacheth, 1 Pet. v., and Paul, Acts xx. Beside this, Christ is ours, and is a gift given us; and we be heirs of

The sight of  
riches is  
rather a cause  
of covetous-  
ness than a  
mean to ho-  
nour God.

1 Pet. v.  
Acts xx.

[<sup>1</sup> *But* and *peradventure*, are wanting in Pent. of 1534; but are found in Day.]

[<sup>2</sup> By St Thomas he means Thomas a Becket, and by *his shrine*, that in Christ's Church, Canterbury; in which cathedral the three chief altars were those of Christ, of the Virgin, and of Becket. At the last of these, according to bishop Burnet, there was offered in one year £954. 6s. 3d. when but £4. 1s. 8d. was offered at the Virgin's altar, and nothing at Christ's. Hist. of Reform. B. III. Vol. I. p. 244, 1st edit. The shrine at Walsingham was that of the Virgin Mary, called Our Lady of Walsingham. Tyndale's contemporary, Erasmus, has given an imaginary narrative of a pilgrim's visit to both these shrines. See Desid. Erasmi Colloquia. Peregrinatio religionis ergo. Lugduni Batav. 1655. pp. 368, and 387.]

Christ, and of all that is Christ's. Wherefore the priest's doctrine is ours, and we heirs of it; it is the food of our souls. Therefore if he minister it not truly and freely unto us, without selling, he is a thief and a soul-murderer: and even so is he, if he take upon him to feed us, and have not wherewith. And for a like conclusion, because we also with all that we have be Christ's, therefore is the priest heir with us also of all that we have received of God; whereof inasmuch as the priest waiteth on the word of God, and is our servant therein, therefore of right we are his debtors, and owe him a sufficient living of our goods, and even thereto a wife of our daughters owe we unto him, if he require her. And now when we have appointed him a sufficient living, whether in tithes, rents, or in yearly wages, he ought to be content and to require no more, nor yet to receive any more; but to be an ensample of soberness and of despising worldly things, unto the ensample of his parishioners.

Whether did  
the papists  
so, or no?

Yet the spir-  
itualty's  
pillage was  
more than  
their standing  
stipend.

Wilt thou vow to offer unto the poor people? That is pleasant in the sight of God, for they be left here to do our alms upon, in Christ's stead; and they be the right heirs of all our abundance and overplus. Moreover we must have a school to teach God's word in (though it needeth not to be so costly); and therefore it is lawful to vow unto the building or maintenance thereof, and unto the helping of all good works. And we ought to vow to pay custom, toll, rent, and all manner duties, and whatsoever we owe; for that is God's commandment.

A good vow  
is to keep  
God's com-  
mandments.

If thou wilt vow pilgrimage, thou must put salt thereto in like manner, if it shall be accepted: if thou vow to go and visit the poor, or to hear God's word, or whatsoever edifieth thy soul unto love, and good works after knowledge, or whatsoever God commandeth, it is well done, and a sacrifice that savoureth well. Ye will haply say, that ye will go to this or that place, because God hath chosen one place more than another, and will hear your petition more in one place than another. As for your prayer, it must be according to God's word: ye may not desire God to take vengeance on him whom God's word teacheth you to pity and to pray for. And as for the other gloss, that God will hear you more in one place than in another, I suppose it *sal infatuatum*, salt unsavoury; for if it were wisdom, how could we excuse the

How thou  
mayest law-  
fully go on  
pilgrimage.

God heareth  
all that call  
upon him in  
all times and  
at all places  
alike.

**Acts vii.** death of Stephen, Acts vii. which died for that article, that  
**God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hands.** God dwelleth not in temples made with hands? We that believe in God are the temple of God, saith Paul. If a man love God, and keep his word, he is the temple of God, and hath God presently dwelling in him: as witnesseth Christ  
**John xiv. xv.** John xivth, saying, "If a man love me, he will keep my word, and then my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and dwell with him." And in the xvth he saith, "If ye abide in me, and my words also abide in you, then ask what ye will, and ye shall have it." If thou believe in Christ, and hast the promises which God hath made thee in thine heart, then go on pilgrimage unto thine own heart, and there pray, and God will hear thee for his mercy and truth's sake, and for his Son Christ's sake, and not for a few stones' sake. What careth God for the temple? The very heasts, in that they have life in them, be much better than an heap of stones couched together.

**Willful chastity is not meet for all persons to vow.** To speak of chastity: it is a gift not given unto all persons, as testifieth both Christ and also his apostle Paul; wherefore all persons may not vow it. Moreover there be causes wherefore many persons may better live chaste at one time than at another. Many may live chaste at twenty and thirty, for certain cold diseases following them, which at forty, when their health is come, cannot do so. Many be occupied with wild fantasies in their youth, that they care not for marriage, which same, when they be waxen sad, shall be greatly desirous. It is a dangerous thing to make sin where none is; and to forswear the benefit of God and to bind thyself under pain of damnation of thy soul, that thou wouldest not use the remedy that God hath created, if need required.

**False feigned chastity.** Another thing is this: beware that thou get thee not a false feigned chastity, made with the ungodly persuasions of St Jerome<sup>1</sup>, or of Ovid in his filthy book of the remedy against

[<sup>1</sup> Even Erasmus himself, too palpably addicted to the use of indecent jests, has said of Jerome's disquisitions on this topic, 'In his depingendis paulo liberius lusit, quam delicatæ quorundam aures ferre possent:' and this remark of Erasmus is prefixed to his edition of an epistle of Jerome, which fully justifies Tyndale's graver rebuke. See also Cavo, Script. Eccles. Hist. liter. art. Hieronymus Stridonensis.]

love; lest, when through such imaginations thou hast utterly despised, defied and abhorred all womankind, thou come into such case through the fierce wrath of God, that thou canst neither live chaste, nor find in thy heart to marry, and so be compelled to fall into the abomination of the pope, against nature and kind.

Moreover, God is a wise father, and knoweth all the infirmities of his children, and also merciful; and therefore hath created a remedy without sin, and given thereto his favour and blessing. Let us not be wiser than God with our imaginations, nor tempt him; for as godly chastity is not every man's gift, even so he that hath it to-day hath not power to continue it at his own pleasure, neither hath God promised to give it him still, and to cure his infirmities without his natural remedy; no more than he hath promised to slake his hunger without meat, or thirst without drink. Wherefore either let all things bide free as wise<sup>2</sup> God hath created them, and neither vow that which God [requireth not, nor forswear that which God<sup>3</sup>] permitteth thee with his favour and blessing also: or else, if thou wilt needs vow, then vow godly and under a condition, that thou wilt continue chaste so long as God giveth thee that gift, and as long as neither thine own necessity, neither charity toward thy neighbour, nor the authority of them under whose power thou art, drive thee unto the contrary.

The purpose of thy vow must be salted also with the wisdom of God. Thou mayest not vow to be justified thereby, or to make satisfaction for thy sins, or to win heaven or an higher place; for then didst thou wrong unto the blood of Christ, and thy vow were plain idolatry and abominable in the sight of God. Thy vow must be only unto the furtherance of the commandments of God; which are (as I have said) nothing hut the taming of thy members, and the service of thy neighbour: that is, if thou think thy back too weak for the burden of wedlock, and that thou canst not rule thy wife, children, servants, and make provision for them godly, and without overmuch busying and unquieting thyself, and drowning thyself in worldly business unchristianly, or that thou canst serve thy neighbour in some office better being chaste

The pope restrained that which God permitted, and setteth at liberty that which God forbid-deth.

A good admonition to such as will make vows.

Whereunto and how we should apply our vows.

How a vow is to be made.

[<sup>2</sup> So Pent. of 1534. Day omits *wise*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So Pent. of 1534. D. wants these words.]

He that fast-  
eth to any  
other end  
than to tame  
his body, that  
it may wait  
upon God,  
deceiveth  
himself.

All our doings  
must tend to  
the honour of  
God, and  
love of our  
neighbour.

than married; and then thy vow is good and lawful. And even so must thou vow abstinence of meats and drinks, so far forth as it is profitable unto thy neighbours, and unto the taming of thy flesh; but thou mayest vow neither of them unto the slaying of thy body: as Paul commandeth Timothy to drink wine, and no more water, because of his diseases. Thou wilt say that Timothy had not haply forsworn wine. I think the same; and that the apostles forswore not wedlock, though many of them lived chaste; neither yet any meat or drink, though they abstained from them; and that it were good for us to follow their example. Howbeit though I vow, and swear, and think on none exception, yet is the breaking of God's commandments except, and all chances that hang of God: as if I swear to be in a certain place at a certain hour, to make a love-day<sup>1</sup>, without exception, yet if the king in the meantime command me another way, I must go by God's commandment, and yet break not mine oath. And in like case, if my father and mother be sick and require my presence, or if my wife, children, or household be visited, that my assistance be required, or if my neighbour's house be a fire at the same hour, and a thousand such chances; in which all I break mine oath, and am not forsworn, and so forth. Read God's word diligently and with a good heart, and it shall teach thee all things.

[<sup>1</sup> 'Love-days: days anciently so called, on which arbitrations were made, and controversies ended between neighbours and acquaintance.' N. Bailey's Universal Etymological Engl. Dict. London, 1755.]

## A PROLOGUE

INTO THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED  
DEUTERONOMY.

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THIS is a book worthy to be read in, day and night, and never to be out of hands: for it is the most excellent of all the books of Moses. It is easy also and light, and a very pure gospel, that is to wit, a preaching of faith and love: deducing the love to God out of faith, and the love of a man's neighbour out of the love of God. Herein also thou mayest learn right meditation or contemplation, which is nothing else save the calling to mind, and a repeating in the heart, of the glorious and wonderful deeds of God, and of his terrible handling of his enemies and merciful entreating of them that come when he calleth them; which thing this book doth, and almost nothing else.

This book  
a preaching  
of faith and  
love.

Here thou  
mayest learn  
a right medi-  
tation or con-  
templation.

In the four first chapters he rehearseth the benefits of God done unto them, to provoke them to love, and his mighty deeds done above all natural power, and beyond all natural capacity of faith, that they might believe God, and trust in him and in his strength. And thirdly he rehearseth the fierce plagues of God upon his enemies, and on them which through impatience and unbelief fell from him; partly to tame and abate the appetites of the flesh which alway fight against the Spirit, and partly to bridle the wide raging lusts of them in whom was no Spirit; that though they had no power to do good of love, yet at the least way they should abstain from outward evil for fear of wrath, and cruel vengeance which should fall upon them and shortly find them out, if they cast up God's nurture, and run at riot beyond his laws and ordinances.

The works of  
God are su-  
pernatural.

We must ab-  
stain from  
outward evil,  
though not  
for love, yet  
for fear of  
the vengeance  
of God.

Moreover he chargeth them to put nought to, nor take ought away from God's words, but to be diligent only to keep them in remembrance, and in the heart, and to teach their children for fear of forgetting; and to beware either of making imagery, or of bowing themselves unto images,

Unto the law  
of God we  
may not add  
nor diminish.

We are com-  
manded to  
abstain from  
images.

God is mer-  
ciful to them  
that repent.

Christ hath  
delivered us,  
and therefore  
we ought to  
serve him,  
and our  
neighbour  
for his sake.

Love only is  
the fulfilling  
of the laws  
of God.

We must  
trust only in  
God, and not  
in ourselves.

How a man  
may try and  
examine  
himself how  
much he  
loveth God  
and his  
neighbour.

saying, "Ye saw no image when God spake unto you, but heard a voice only, and that voice keep, and thereunto cleave; for it is your life, and it shall save you." And finally, if (as the frailty of all flesh is) they shall have fallen from God, and he have brought them into trouble, adversity, and cumbrance and all necessity; yet if they repent and turn, he promiseth them, that God shall remember his mercy, and receive them to grace again.

In the fifth he repeateth the ten commandments; and, that they might see a cause to do them of love, he hiddeh them remember that they were bound in Egypt, and how God delivered them with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, to serve him, and to keep his commandments: as Paul saith that we are hought with Christ's blood, and therefore are his servants, and not our own, and ought to seek his will and honour only, and to love and serve one another for his sake.

In the sixth he setteth out the fountain of all commandments: that is, that they believe how that there is hut one God that doth all, and therefore ought only to be loved with all the heart, all the soul, and all the might. For love only is the fulfilling of the commandments, as Paul also saith unto the Romans, and Galatians likewise. He warneth them also that they forget not the commandments, but teach them their children; and to shew their children also how God delivered them out of the bondage of the Egyptians, to serve him and his commandments, that the children might see a cause to work of love likewise.

The seventh is altogether of faith: he removeth all occasions that might withdraw them from the faith, and pulleth them also from all confidence in themselves, and stirreth them up to trust in God boldly and only.

Of the eighth chapter thou seest how that the cause of all temptation<sup>1</sup> is, that a man might see his own heart. For when I am brought into that extremity, that I must either suffer or forsake God, then I shall feel how much I believe and trust in him, and how much I love him. In like manner, if my brother do me evil for my good, then if I love him when there is no cause in him, I see that my love was of God; and even so if I then hate him, I feel and perceive that my love was but worldly. And finally, he stirreth them to the

[<sup>1</sup> That is, of *trial*.]



faith and love of God, and driveth them from all confidence of their own selves.

In the ninth also he moveth them unto faith, and to put their trust in God; and draweth them from confidence of themselves, by rehearsing all the wickedness which they had wrought from the first day he knew them unto that same day. And in the end he repeateth how he conjured God in Horeb, and overcame him with prayer; where thou mayest learn the right manner to pray.

God stirreth up his people unto faith.

A right way of prayer.

In the tenth he reckoneth up the pith of all laws, and the keeping of the law in the heart; which is to fear God, love him, and serve him with all their heart, soul and might, and keep his commandments of love. And he sheweth a reason why they should that do: even because God is Lord of heaven and earth, and hath also done all for them of his own goodness, without their deserving. And then out of the love unto God he bringeth the love unto a man's neighbour, saying, God is Lord above all lords, and loveth all his servants indifferently, as well the poor and feeble, and the stranger, as the rich and mighty, and therefore will that we love the poor and the stranger. And he addeth a cause, For ye were strangers, and God delivered you, and hath brought you unto a land where ye be at home. "Love the stranger therefore" for his sake.

The pith and effect of all the laws of God.

And if we first love God, then out of that love we must needs love our neighbour.

In the eleventh he exhorteth them to love and fear God; and rehearseth the terrible deeds of God upon his enemies, and on them that rebelled against him. And he testifieth unto them both what will follow, if they love and fear God, and what also if they despise him and break his commandment.

What it is to love and fear God, and what it is to despise him.

In the twelfth he commandeth to put out of the way all that might be an occasion to hurt the faith, and forbiddeth to do ought after their own minds, or to alter the word of God.

The word of God may not be altered.

In the thirteenth he forbiddeth to hearken unto ought save unto God's word: no, though he which counselleth contrary should come with miracles; as Paul doth unto the Galatians.

Let no man draw us from God's word.

In the fourteenth the beasts are forbidden, partly for uncleanness of them, and partly to cause hate between the heathen and them; that they have no conversation together, in that one abhorreth what the other eateth. Unto this fifteenth chapter all pertain unto faith and love chiefly: and

Of matters of  
the common-  
weal.

None may be  
condemned  
under two  
witnesses.

Christ our  
Saviour de-  
clared in the  
old testa-  
ment.

The curse  
and wrath of  
God over all  
those that  
break his  
laws.

We may not  
be too curious  
in the search-  
ing of God's  
secrets, but  
rather study  
to understand  
and to do our  
duty towards  
God and our  
neighbour.

in this fifteenth he beginneth to entreat more specially of things pertaining unto the commonwealth, and equity; and exhorteth unto the love of a man's neighbour. And in the sixteenth, among other, he forgetteth not the same. And in the seventeenth he entreateth of right and equity chiefly; insomuch that, when he looketh unto faith and unto the punishment of idolaters, he yet endeth in a law of love and equity: forbidding to condemn any man under less than two witnesses at the least, and commandeth to bring the trespasser unto the open gate of the city, where all men go in and out, that all men might hear the cause and see that he had but right. But the pope hath found a better way; even to appose<sup>1</sup> him without any accuser, and that secretly, that no man know whether he have right or no, either hear his articles or answer; for fear lest the people should search whether it were so or no.

In the eighteenth he forbiddeth all false and devilish crafts that hurt true faith. Moreover because the people could not hear the voice of the law spoken to them in fire, he promiseth them another prophet to bring them better tidings; which was spoken of Christ our Saviour.

The nineteenth, and so forth unto the end of the twenty-seventh, is almost altogether of love unto our neighbours, and of laws, of equity and honesty, with now and then a respect unto faith.

The twenty-eighth is a terrible chapter, and to be trembled at. A christian man's heart might well bleed for sorrow at the reading of it, for fear of the wrath that is like to come upon us, according unto all the curses which thou there readest. For according unto these curses hath God dealt with all nations, after they were fallen into the abominations of blindness.

The twenty-ninth is like terrible, with a godly lesson in the end, that we should leave searching of God's secrets, and give diligence to walk according to that he hath opened unto us. For the keeping of the commandments of God teacheth wisdom, as thou mayest see in the same chapter, where Moses saith, Keep the commandments, that ye may understand what ye ought to do. But to search God's secrets blindeth a man; as it is well proved by the swarms of our sophisters, whose wise hooks are now, when we look in the scripture, found but full of foolishness.

[<sup>1</sup> To examine, to question.]

## A TABLE

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES  
CALLED DEUTERONOMY<sup>2</sup>.

**AVIMS.** A kind of giants; and the word signifieth crooked, unright, or wicked<sup>3</sup>.

**BELIAL.** Wicked, or wickedness; he that hath cast the yoke of God off his neck, and will not obey God<sup>4</sup>.

**BRUTERER.** Prophetier, or soothsayer<sup>5</sup>.

**EMIMS.** A kind of giants so called, because they were terrible and cruel; for *Emim* signifieth terribleness<sup>6</sup>.

[<sup>2</sup> In Day's folio this table is prefixed to the book of Numbers, and called, 'An exposition of certain words of the ivth book of Moses called Numeri,' whereas they are all words found in Deuteronomy. In the Pentateuch of 1534 the table is in its proper place.]

[<sup>3</sup> Avims. אַוִּים. Deut. ii. 23. Gr. Εὐνοίαι. Vulg. Hevsei. Luther, Caphtborim. Authorised version, Avims. Tyndale refers the name to the root אָוָה; and his explanation of that root is in conformity with that of lexicographers.]

[<sup>4</sup> Belial. בְּלִיַּעַל. Deut. xiii. 13. Most lexicographers have considered this word as a compound of בְּלִי and יַעַל, and have therefore interpreted it either unprofitable, or ignoble, (Simon's Lex.) Tyndale has construed it as בְּלִי עֹל, without a yoke: and Sebastian Munster, who published the first volume of his translation of the scriptures from the Hebrew in 1534, observes in a note, 'Per Belijaal Hebr. intelligunt hominem perversicem, quasi בְּלִי עֹל, absque jugo legis divinæ.' Buxtorf gives both interpretations; but places Tyndale's first. Lex. Hebr. et Chald. Basil. 1689, under root עָלַל.]

[<sup>5</sup> In Deut. xviii. 10, where our authorised version has, 'that useth divination, or an observer of times,' Tyndale writes, 'a bruterar, or a maker of dismal days.']

[<sup>6</sup> Emims. עִמִּים. Deut. ii. 10. Tyndale refers this name to the root עִמָּ, as does Prof. Robertson, and Joh. Simon. The latter gives עִמִּים as the correct reading, here and in Gen. xiv. 5; and says of עִמָּ, rad. insult. Terribilis fuit.]

ENACHE. A kind of giants, so called haply because they wore chains about their necks; for *enach* is such a chain as men wear about their necks<sup>1</sup>.

HORIMS. A kind of giants, and signifieth noble; because that of pride they called themselves nobles, or gentles<sup>2</sup>.

ROCK. God is called a rock, because both he and his word lasteth for ever<sup>3</sup>.

WHET THEM ON THY CHILDREN. That is, exercise thy children in them, and put them in ure<sup>4</sup>.

ZAMZUMIMS. A kind of giants; and signifieth mischievous, or that be always imagining<sup>5</sup>.

[<sup>1</sup> Enache. עֲנָקִים. Deut. ii. 10. The verb עֲנַק is, to bind round the neck; and the substantive signifies a neck-chain.]

[<sup>2</sup> Horims. הֹרִים. Deut. ii. 12. Joh. Simon's Lexicon, under root הָרַר, nobili stirpe natus est, has מִהָרַר in plur. הֹרִים, nobles. Lee acknowledges the same signification, but refers the word to הָוִיר, white, and then says, 'Nobles, as arrayed in white robes.']

[<sup>3</sup> Tyndale obviously alludes to Deut. xxxii. 4, and 31.]

[<sup>4</sup> Deut. vi. 7. Tyndale used the words, 'Whet them,' where our authorised version has, 'teach them diligently,' but acknowledges *whet or sharpen*, in its margin, to be more close to the Hebrew idiom. The verb is שָׁנַן, the pihel form of שָׁנַן, and is acknowledged by lexicographers to mean *sharpen*.]

[<sup>5</sup> Zamzumims. זִמְזָמִים. Deut. ii. 20. From זָמַם, he turned in his mind, he resolved in his mind, comes זִמְזָם, headlong audacity, a heinous crime, lewdness. Roberts. Clav. Pent. No. 2997. Joh. Simon's Lex. agrees with Tyndale in referring the name of this giant race to the same root.]

## PROLOGUE TO THE PROPHET JONAS

## [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

THIS work came from the press of Martin de Keyser, sometimes called Empereur. It appeared in 1531 probably in May or June, and thereafter Tyndale stuck to this Antwerp press for most of his works.

Jonah was a popular book with the Reformers. Luther himself had translated it in 1526. Tyndale feels its relevance to the situation of the day, and hence his plea that the reader should not dismiss it as a poetic fantasy or an allegory, but rather heed its straightforward lesson.

Copies of this book were so rare that scholars doubted its existence until in 1861 Lord Arthur Hervey found among his family papers a copy, which is now in the British Museum.]

As the envious Philistines stopped the wells of Abraham, and filled them up with earth, to put the memorial out of mind, to the intent that they might challenge the ground; even so the fleshly-minded hypocrites stop up the veins of life, which are in the scripture, with the earth of their traditions, false similitudes, and lying allegories; and that of like zeal, to make the scripture their own possession and merchandise, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven, which is God's word; neither entering in themselves, nor suffering them that would.

The papists keep the scriptures from the lay-people, because they only will be the publishers and expositors thereof.

The scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life. It hath without a hark, a shell, and as it were an hard bone, for the fleshly-minded to gnaw upon: and within it hath with, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect, which he hath chosen to give them his Spirit, and to write his law, and the faith of his Son, in their hearts.

The scripture hath a body and a soul.

The scripture containeth three things in it: first, the law, to condemn all flesh; secondarily, the gospel, that is to say, promises of mercy for all that repent and acknowledge their sins at the preaching of the law, and consent in their hearts that the law is good, and submit themselves to be scholars to learn to keep the law, and to learn to believe the mercy that is promised them; and thirdly, the stories and lives of those scholars, both what chances fortunèd them, and also by what means their schoolmaster taught them and made them perfect, and how he tried the true from the false.

The scripture containeth three things.

When the hypocrites come to the law, they put glosses to, and make no more of it than of a worldly law, which is satisfied with the outward work, and which a Turk may also fulfil: when yet God's law never ceaseth to condemn a

The manner of hypocrites in reading the law of God.

[<sup>1</sup> The margins throughout this Prologue are not Tyndale's own.]

The papistical and corrupt doctrine of the papists.

man, until it be written in his heart, and until he keep it naturally without compulsion, and all other respect, save only of pure love to God and his neighbour; as he naturally eateth when he is an hungred, without compulsion and all other respect, save to slake his hunger only. And when they come to the gospel, there they mingle their leaven, and say, 'God now receiveth us no more to mercy, but of mercy receiveth us to penance;' that is to wit, holy deeds that make them fat bellies, and us their captives both in soul and body. And yet they feign their idol the pope so merciful, that if thou make a little money glisten in his Balaam's eyes, there is neither penance, nor purgatory, nor any fasting at all, but to fly to heaven as swift as a thought, and at the twinkling of an eye.

How the papists wring and wrest the scriptures.

And the lives, stories, and gestic<sup>1</sup> of men, which are contained in the bible, they read as things no more pertaining unto them than a tale of Robin Hood, and as things they wot not whereto they serve, save to feign false descant and juggling allegories, to stablish their kingdom withal. And one of the chiefest and fleshliest studies they have is to magnify the saints above measure and above the truth; and with their poetry to make them greater then ever God made them. And if they find any infirmity or sin ascribed unto the saints, that they excuse with all diligence, diminishing the glory of the mercy of God, and robbing wretched sinners of all their comfort; and think thereby to flatter the saints, and to obtain their favour, and to make special advocates of them, even as a man would obtain the favour of worldly tyrants: as they also feign the saints more cruel than ever was any heathen man, and more wreakful and vengeable than the poets feign their gods, or their furies that torment the souls in hell, if their evens<sup>2</sup> be not fasted, and their images visited and saluted with a pater-noster (which prayer only our lips be acquainted with, our hearts understanding none at all) and worshipped with a candle, and the offering of our devotion in the place which they have chosen to hear supplications and meek petitions of their clients therein.

But thou, reader, think of the law of God, how that it is

[<sup>1</sup> That is, doings. So edition of 1549; but Hylls' bible and Day have *gifts*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Evens, eves; the saints' eves.]

altogether spiritual, and so spiritual that it is never fulfilled with deeds or works, until they flow out of thine heart, with as great love toward thine neighbour, for no deserving of his, yea, though he be thine enemy, as Christ loved thee, and died for thee, for no deserving of thine, but even when thou wast his enemy; and in the mean time, throughout all our infancy and childhood in Christ, till we be grown up into perfect men, in the full knowledge of Christ, and full love of Christ again, and of our neighbours for his sake, after the example of his love to us, remembering that the fulfilling of the law is a fast faith in Christ's blood, coupled with our profession, and submitting ourselves to do better.

And of the gospel, or promises, which thou meetest in the scripture, believe fast<sup>3</sup> that God will fulfil them unto thee, and that unto the uttermost jot, at the repentance of thine heart, when thou turnest to him and forsakest evil, even of his goodness and fatherly mercy unto thee, and not for thy flattering him with hypocritish works of thine own feigning: so that a fast faith only, without respect of all works, is the forgiveness both of the sin which we did in time of ignorance with lust and consent to sin, and also of that<sup>4</sup> sin which we do by chance, and of frailty, after that we are come to knowledge, and have professed the law out of our hearts. And all deeds serve only for to help our neighbours, and to tame our flesh, that we fall not to sin again, and to exercise our souls in virtue; and not to make satisfaction to God-ward for the sin that is once past.

And all other stories of the bible, without exception, are the practising of the law and of the gospel; and are true and faithful ensamples, and sure earnest that God will even so deal with us, as he did with them, in all infirmities, in all temptations, and in all like cases and chances. Wherein ye see on the one side how fatherly and tenderly, and with all compassion, God entreateth his elect, which submit themselves as scholars, to learn to walk in the ways of his laws, and to keep them of love. If they forgot themselves at a time, he would stir them up again with all mercy: if they fell and hurt themselves, he healed them again with all compassion and tenderness of heart. He hath oft brought great

[<sup>3</sup> Fast: stedfastly.]

[<sup>4</sup> So D. Hyll's B. has *all the*.]

God correct-  
eth where he  
loveth.

God casteth  
none away  
but such as  
refuse to keep  
his laws, and  
will not  
hearken unto  
his voice.

Rom. xv.

Such as hard-  
en their  
hearts, and  
hearken not  
to the will of  
God to do it,  
God casteth  
out.

1 Cor. x.

The prophets  
of God bare  
the weakness  
of their bre-  
thren, and  
their injuries  
also, with  
patience.

The pope and  
his ministers  
are persecu-  
tors over  
their bre-  
thren.

tribulation and adversity upon his elect; but all of fatherly love only, to teach them, and to make them see their own hearts, and the sin that there lay hid, that they might afterward feel his mercy. For his mercy waited upon them, to rid them out again, as soon as they were learned, and come to the knowledge of their own hearts; so that he never cast man away, how deep soever he had sinned, save them only which had first cast the yoke of his laws from their necks, with utter defiance and malice of heart.

Which ensamples how comfortable are they for us, when we be fallen into sin, and God is come upon us with a scourge, that we despair not, but repent with full hope of mercy, after the ensamples of mercy that are gone before! And therefore they were written for our learning, as testi-  
fieth Paul, Rom. xv. to comfort us, that we might the better put our hope and trust in God, when we see how merciful he hath been in times past unto our weak brethren that are gone before, in all their adversities, need, temptations, yea, and horrible sins into which they now and then fell.

And on the other side, ye see how they that hardened their hearts, and sinned of malice, and refused mercy that was offered them, and had no power to repent, perished at the latter end, with all confusion and shame, mercilessly. Which ensamples are very good, and necessary to keep us in awe and dread in time of prosperity, as thou mayest see by Paul, 1 Cor. x. that we abide in the fear of God, and wax not wild, and fall to vanities, and so sin and provoke God, and bring his wrath upon us.

And thirdly, ye see in the practice, how as God is merciful and long-suffering, even so were all his true prophets and preachers; bearing the infirmities of their weak brethren, and their own wrongs and injuries, with all patience and long-suffering, never casting any of them off their backs, until they sinned against the Holy Ghost, maliciously persecuting the open and manifest truth: contrary unto the ensample of the pope, which in sinning against God, and to quench the truth of his Holy Spirit, is ever chief captain and trumpet-blower to set other at work, and seeketh only his own freedom, liberty, privilege, wealth, prosperity, profit, pleasure, pastime, honour and glory, with the bondage, thralldom, captivity, misery, wretchedness, and vile subjection of his



brethren; and in his own cause is so fervent, so stiff and cruel, that he will not suffer one word spoken against his false majesty, wily inventions, and juggling hypocrisy, to be unavenged, though all Christendom should be set together by the ears, and should cost he cared not how many hundred thousand their lives.

Now, that thou mayest read Jonas fruitfully, and not as a poet's fable, but as an obligation between God and thy soul, as an earnest-penny given thee of God, that he will help thee in time of need, if thou turn to him, and as the word of God, the only food and life of thy soul, this mark and note. First count Jonas the friend of God, and a man chosen of God, to testify his name unto the world; but yet a young scholar, weak and rude, after the fashion of the apostles while Christ was with them yet bodily, which, though Christ taught them ever to be meek and to humble themselves, yet oft strove among themselves who should be greatest. The sons of Zebedee would sit the one on the right hand of Christ, the other on the left. They would pray that fire might descend from heaven, and consume the Samaritans. When Christ asked, "Who say men that I am?" Peter answered, "Thou art the Son of the living God;" as though Peter had been as perfect as an angel. But immediately after, when Christ preached unto them of his death and passion, Peter was angry and rebuked Christ, and thought earnestly that he had raved, and not wist what he said; as at another time, when Christ was so fervently busied in healing the people that he had no leisure to eat, they went out to hold him, supposing that he had been beside himself. And one that cast out devils in Christ's name they forbade, because he waited not on them; so glorious<sup>1</sup> were they yet.

The cruel opinion that the disciples had of Christ.

And though Christ taught alway to forgive, yet Peter, after long going to school, asked whether men should forgive seven times; thinking that eight times had been too much. And at the last supper Peter would have died with Christ; but yet within few hours after he denied him, both cowardly and shamefully. And after the same manner, though he had so long heard that no man might avenge himself, but rather turn the other cheek to, than to smite again; yet when Christ

The ignorance and imperfection of the apostles.

[<sup>1</sup> Glorious, for vain-glorious.]

was in taking, Peter asked whether it were lawful to smite with the sword, and tarried none answer, but laid on rashly. So that though, when we come first unto knowledge of the truth, and that peace is made between God and us, we love his laws, and believe and trust in him as in our father, and have good hearts unto him, and be born anew in the Spirit, yet we are but children and young scholars, weak and feeble; and must have leisure to grow in the Spirit, in knowledge, love, and in the deeds thereof, as young children must have time to grow in their bodies.

Deut. viii.

God doth  
mercifully  
try and tempt  
us, to move  
us to utter  
our hearts  
and minds  
towards him.

And God, our father and schoolmaster, feedeth us and teacheth us according unto the capacity of our stomachs, and maketh us to grow and wax perfect, and fineth and trieth us as gold in the fire of temptations and tribulations; as Moses witnesseth, Deut. viii. saying: "Remember all the way by which the Lord thy God carried thee this forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to tempt, or provoke thee, that it might be known what were in thine heart. He brought thee into adversity, and made thee an hungred, and then fed thee with manna, which neither thou nor yet thy fathers ever knew of, to teach that man liveth not by bread only, but by all that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." For the promises of God are life unto all that cleave unto them, much more than is bread and bodily sustenance; as the journey of the children of Israel out of Egypt into the land promised them ministereth thee notable ensamples, and that abundantly, as doth all the rest of the bible also. Howbeit, it is impossible for flesh to believe and to trust in the truth of God's promises, until he have learned it in much tribulation, after that God hath delivered him out thereof again.

Jonas of him-  
self was an  
unmeet mes-  
senger to be  
sent of such a  
message, but  
God assisted  
him with his  
Holy Spirit.

God, therefore, to teach Jonas, and to shew him his own heart, and to make him perfect, and to instruct us also by his ensample, sent him out of the land of Israel, where he was a prophet, to go among the heathen people, and to the greatest and mightiest city of the world then, called Niniveh, to preach that within forty days they should all perish for their sins, and that the city should be overthrown. Which message the free will of Jonas had as much power to do as the weakest-hearted woman in the world hath power, if she were commanded, to leap into a tub of living snakes and adders: as haply, if God had commanded Sarah to have sacrificed her son Isaac, as he

did Abraham, she would have disputed with him ere<sup>1</sup> she had done it; or though she were strong enough, yet many an holy saint could not have found in their hearts, but would have run away from the presence of the commandment of God with Jonas, if they had been so strongly tempted.

For Jonas thought of this manner: Lo, I am here a prophet unto God's people the Israelites, which, though they have God's word testified unto them daily, yet despise it, and worship God under the likeness of calves, and after all manner fashions, save after his own word; and therefore are of all nations the worst, and most worthy of punishment: and yet God, for love of few that are among them, and for his name's sake, spareth and defendeth them. How then should God take so cruel vengeance on so great a multitude of them to whom his name was never preached, and therefore are not the tenth part so evil as these? If I shall therefore go preach, so shall I lie<sup>2</sup> and shame myself, and God thereto, and make them the more to despise God, and set the less by him, and to be the more cruel unto his people.

The carnal imagination of man's nature, without God's Spirit.

And upon that imagination he fled from the face or presence of God; that is, out of the country where God was worshipped in, and from the prosecuting of God's commandment; and thought, I will get me another way, among the heathen people, and be no more a prophet, but live at rest and out of all cumbrance. Nevertheless, the God of all mercy, which careth for his elect children, and turneth all unto good to them, and smiteth them to heal them again, and killeth them to make them live again, and playeth with them (as a father doth sometime with his young ignorant children), and tempteth them, and proveth them to make them see their own hearts, provided for Jonas how all things should be.

Jonas, so long as he was in his carnal imagination, could not abide the voice of God, but fled: howbeit God called him again.

When Jonas entered into the ship, he laid him down to sleep, and to take his rest: that is, his conscience was tossed between the commandment of God, which sent him to Niniveh, and his fleshly wisdom, that dissuaded and counselled him the contrary, and at the last prevailed against the commandment, and carried him another way, as a ship caught between two streams; and as poets feign the mother of Meleager to be between divers affections, while to avenge her brother's death

Jonas's flesh rebelled against the Spirit.

[<sup>1</sup> Old spelling, *yer*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So bible of 1540. Day has *laye*.]

The wicked  
seek to cover  
their wicked-  
ness with  
pope-holy  
works.

she sought to slay her own son<sup>1</sup>. Whereupon for very pain and tediousness he lay down to sleep, for to put the commandment, which so gnew<sup>2</sup> and fretted his conscience, out of mind; as the nature of all wicked is, when they have sinned a good<sup>3</sup>, to seek all means with riot, revel, and pastime, to drive the remembrance of sin out of their thoughts; or, as Adam did, to cover their nakedness with aprons of pope-holy works. But God awoke him out of his dream, and set his sins before his face.

How Jonas  
was trapped,  
and made  
afraid.

For when the lot had caught Jonas, then be sure that his sins came to remembrance again, and that his conscience raged no less than the waves of the sea. And then he thought that he only was a sinner, and the heathen that were in the ship none in respect of him; and thought also, as verily as he was fled from God, that as verily God had cast him away. For the sight of the rod maketh the natural child not only to see and to knowledge his fault, but also to forget all his father's old mercy and kindness. And then he confessed his sin openly, and had yet lever perish alone, than that the other should have perished with him for his sake; and so, of very desperation to have lived any longer, he bade cast him into the sea betimes, except they would be lost also.

Jonas being  
afraid con-  
fesseth his  
sins.

Lots, how  
they may be  
used law-  
fully.

Acts I.

To speak of lots, how far forth they are lawful, is a light<sup>4</sup> question. First, to use them for the breaking of strife, (as when partners, their goods as equally divided as they can, take every man his part by lot, to avoid all suspicion of deceitfulness; and as the apostles, in the first of the Acts, when they sought another to succeed Judas the traitor, and two persons were presented, then, to break strife, and to satisfy all parties, did cast lots whether should he admitted, desiring God to temper them, and to take whom he knew most meet, seeing they wist not whether to prefer, or haply could not all agree on either,) is lawful, and in all like cases. But to abuse them unto the tempting of God, and to compel him therewith to utter things whereof we stand in doubt, when we have no commandment of him so to do, as these heathen here did, though God turned it unto his glory, cannot he but evil.

[<sup>1</sup> See the story in Ovid, *Metam.* viii. iv.]

[<sup>2</sup> Gnew, i. e. gnawed.]

[<sup>3</sup> A good, for *of good*, i. e. in reality.]

[<sup>4</sup> Not difficult.]

The heathen shipmen, astonished at the sight of the miracle, feared God, prayed to him, offered sacrifice, and vowed vows. And I doubt not but that some of them, or haply all, came thereby unto the true knowledge and true worshipping of God, and were won to God in their souls. And thus God, which is infinite merciful in all his ways, wrought their soul's health out of the infirmity of Jonas; even of his good will and purpose, and love, wherewith he loved them before the world was made, and not of chance, as it appeareth unto the eyes of the ignorant.

Miracle  
moveth the  
heathen to  
know God,  
and to call  
upon him.

And that Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of his fish, we cannot thereby prove unto the Jews and infidels, or unto any man, that Christ must therefore die, and be buried, and rise again: but we use the ensample and likeness to strength the faith of the weak. For he that believeth the one, cannot doubt in the other: inasmuch as the hand of God was no less mighty in preserving Jonas alive against all natural possibility, and in delivering him safe out of his<sup>5</sup> fish, than in raising up Christ again out of his sepulchre. And we may describe the power and virtue of the resurrection thereby, as Christ himself borroweth the similitude thereto, Matt. xii. saying unto the Jews that came about him, and desired a sign or a wonder from heaven, to certify them that he was Christ: "This evil and wedlock-breaking nation" (which break the wedlock of faith, wherewith they be married unto God, and believe in their false works,) "seek a sign; but there shall no sign be given them, save the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, even so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Which was a watch-word (as we say), and a sharp threatening unto the Jews, and as much to say as thus: 'Ye hard-hearted Jews seek a sign; lo, this shall be your sign. As Jonas was raised out of the sepulchre of his fish, and then sent unto the Ninivites to preach that they should perish; even so shall I rise again out of my sepulchre, and come and preach repentance unto you. See, therefore, when ye see the sign, that ye repent, or else ye shall surely perish, and not escape. For though the infirmities which ye now see in my flesh be a let unto your fathers, ye shall then be with-

As Jonas lay  
three days  
and three  
nights in the  
whale's belly,  
so Christ lay  
three days  
and three  
nights in the  
earth.

How Christ  
sheweth his  
death and  
resurrection  
by Jonas the  
prophet.

[<sup>5</sup> D. has *this*. Bible of 1551 has *his*.]

Christ by the  
mouth of his  
apostles  
preached  
repentance to  
the Jews.

out excuse when ye see so great a miracle, and so great power of God shed out upon you.' And so Christ came again after the resurrection in his Spirit, and preached repentance unto them by the mouth of his apostles and disciples, and with miracles of the Holy Ghost. And all that repented not perished shortly after, and the rest [were] carried away captive into all quarters of the world for an example, as ye see unto this day.

Where there  
is no repent-  
ance, there  
God poureth  
out his  
vengeance.

And in like manner, since the world began, wheresoever repentance was offered and not received, there God took cruel vengeance immediately: as ye see in the flood of Noe, in the overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the country about; and as ye see of Egypt, of the Amorites, Canaanites, and afterward of the very Israelites; and then, at the last, of the Jews too, and of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and so throughout all the empires of the world.

Gildas a  
writer of the  
British Chro-  
nicle.

Gildas preached repentance unto the old Britains that inhabited England. They repented not, and therefore God sent in their enemies upon them on every side, and destroyed them up, and gave the land unto other nations<sup>1</sup>. And great vengeance hath been taken in that land for sin since that time.

Wickliffe a  
preacher of  
repentance.

Wickliffe preached repentance unto our fathers not long since. They repented not; for their hearts were indurate, and their eyes blinded with their own pope-holy righteousness, wherewith they had made their souls gay against the receiving again of the wicked spirit, that bringeth seven worse than himself with him, and maketh the latter end worse than the beginning: for in open sins there is hope of repentance, but in holy hypocrisy none at all. But what followed? They slew their true and right king, and set up three wrong kings a row, under which all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons thereto, what in France, and what with their own sword, in fighting among themselves for the crown; and the cities and towns decayed, and the land brought half into a wilderness, in respect of that it was before.

They slew  
Richard the  
Second.  
They set up  
Henry the  
Fourth.  
Henry the  
Fifth.  
Henry the  
Sixth.

Christ now  
preacheth  
repentance  
unto us.

And now Christ, to preach repentance, is risen yet once again out of his sepulchre, in which the pope had buried him, and kept him down with his pillars and poleaxes, and all disguisings of hypocrisy, with guile, wiles and falsehood, and with

the sword of all princes, which he had blinded with his false merchandise. And as I doubt not of the ensamples that are past, so am I sure that great wrath will follow, except repentance turn it back again, and cease it.

When Jonas had been in the fish's belly a space, and the rage of his conscience was somewhat quieted and suaged, and he come to himself again, and had received a little hope, the qualms and pangs of desperation which went over his heart half overcome, he prayed; as he maketh mention in the text, saying, "Jonas prayed unto the Lord his God out of the belly of the fish." But the words of that prayer are not here set.

Jonas called upon God out of the fish's belly.

The prayer that here<sup>2</sup> standeth, in the text, is the prayer of praise and thanksgiving, which he prayed and wrote when he was escaped, and past all jeopardy: in the end of which prayer he saith, "I will sacrifice with the voice of thanksgiving, and pay that I have vowed; that saving cometh of the Lord." For verily, to confess out of the heart that all benefits come of God, even out of the goodness of his mercy, and not deserving of our deeds, is the only sacrifice that pleaseth God; and to believe that all the Jews vowed in their circumcision, as we in our baptism; which vow Jonas, now being taught with experience, promiseth to pay. For those outward sacrifices of beasts, unto which Jonas had haply ascribed too much before, were but feeble and childish things, and not ordained that the works of themselves should be a service unto the people; but to put them in remembrance of this inward sacrifice of thanks and of faith, to trust and believe in God the only Saviour: which signification, when it was away, they were abominable, and devilish idolatry and image-service; as our ceremonies and sacraments are become now, to all that trust and believe in the work of them, and are not taught the significations, to edify their souls with knowledge and the doctrine of God.

The sacrifice that Jonas offereth unto God.

The sacrifices of the old law were ordained to put us in remembrance of the sacrifice of thanksgiving.

When Jonas was cast upon land again, then his will was free, and had power to go whither God sent him, and to do what God bade, his own imaginations laid apart. For he had been at a new school, yea, and in a furnace, where he was purged of much refuse and dross of fleshly wisdom, which

Jonas did that God commanded him.

[<sup>2</sup> The employment of the word *here*, in this and the precoding clause, is doubtless a part of what would be esteemed internal evidence that a translation of Jonah accompanied the prologue.]

resisted the wisdom of God, and led Jonas's will contrary unto the will of God. For as far as we be blind in Adam, we cannot but seek and will our own profit, pleasure, and glory; and as far as we be taught in the Spirit, we cannot but seek and will the pleasure and glory of God only.

Niniveh was the greatest city in the world.

And as [to] the three days' journey of Niniveh, whether it were in length, or to go round about it, or through all the streets, I commit unto the discretion of other men. But I think that it was then the greatest city of the world.

And that Jonas went a day's journey in the city: I suppose he did it not in one day, but went fair and easily; preaching here a sermon, and there another, and rebuked the sin of the people, for which they must perish.

Christ is merciful to them that repent and call for mercy.

And when thou art come unto the repentance of the Ninivites, there hast thou sure earnest, that howsoever angry God be, yet he remembereth mercy unto all that truly repent and believe in mercy: which ensample our Saviour Christ also casteth in the teeth of the indurate Jews, saying, "The Ninivites shall rise in judgment with this nation, and condemn them; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and behold a greater than Jonas is here:" meaning of himself, at whose preaching yet, though it were never so mighty to pierce the heart, and for all his miracles thereto, the hard-hearted Jews could not repent; when the heathen Ninivites repented at the bare preaching of Jonas, rebuking their sins without any miracle at all. Why? For the Jews had leavened the spiritual law of God, and with their glosses had made it altogether earthly and fleshly, and so had set a veil or covering on Moses's face, to shadow and darken the glorious brightness of his countenance. It was sin to steal; but to rob widows' houses under a colour of long praying, and to poll in the name of offerings, and to snare the people with intolerable constitutions<sup>1</sup> against all love, to catch their money out of their purses, was no sin at all.

The doctrine of the Pharisees and the papists make sin of that is no sin.

This is the doctrine of the papists and hypocritical monks at this day.

To smite father and mother was sin; but to witbdraw help from them at their need, for blind zeal of offering, unto the profit of the holy Pharisees, was then as meritorious, as it is now to let all thy kin choose whether they will sink or swim, while thou buildest and makest goodly foundations for holy people, which thou hast chosen to be thy Christ, for to

[<sup>1</sup> Laws imposed by despotic authority. Justin. Instit. Lib. i. Tit. ii. § 6.]



supple thy soul with the oil of their sweet blessings; and to be thy Jesus, for to save thy soul from the purgatory of the blood that only purgeth sin, with their watching, fasting, woolward-going<sup>2</sup>, and rising at midnight, &c., wherewith yet they purge not themselves from their covetousness, pride, lechery, or any vice that thou seest among the lay-people.

The blind and fruitless works of the papists.

It was great sin for Christ to heal the people on the sabbath-day, unto the glory of God his Father; but none at all for them to help their cattle, unto their own profit.

Papistical sins.

It was sin to eat with unwashed hands, or on an unwashed table, or out of an unwashed dish; but to eat out of that purified dish that which came of bribery, theft, and extortion, was no sin at all.

It was exceeding meritorious to make many disciples; but to teach them to fear God in his ordinances, had they no care at all.

The high prelates so defended the right of holy church, and so feared the people with the curse of God and terrible pains of hell, that no man durst leave the vilest herb in his garden untithed. And the offerings and things dedicate unto God, for the profit of his holy vicars, were in such estimation and reverence, that it was a much greater sin to swear truly by them, than to forswear thyself by God. What vengeance then of God, and how terrible and cruel damnation, think ye, preached they to fall on them that had stolen so the holy things? And yet saith Christ, that righteousness and faith, in keeping promise, mercy, and indifferent judgment, were utterly trodden under foot, and clean despised of those blessed fathers, which so mightily maintained Aaron's patrimony, and had made it so prosperous, and environed it, and walled it about on every side with the fear of God, that no man durst touch it.

Papists taught themselves and their works with all cruelty.

The false and wicked doctrine of the papists.

It was great holiness to garnish the sepulchres of the prophets, and to condemn their own fathers for slaying of them; and yet were they themselves, for blind zeal of their own constitutions, as ready as their fathers to slay whosoever testified unto them the same truth which the prophets testified unto their fathers. So that Christ compareth all the righteousness of those holy patriarchs unto the outward beauty

Blind and hypocritical doctrine.

[<sup>2</sup> The imaginary merit of forswearing clean linen, and wearing woollen in its stead.]

of a painted sepulchre, full of stench and all uncleanness within.

And finally, to hegule a man's neighbour in subtle bargaining, and to wrap and compass him in with cautels of the law, was then as it is now in the kingdom of the pope: by the reason whereof they excluded the law of love out of their hearts, and consequently all true repentance; for how could they repent of that they could not see to be sin?

The Pharisees set up a righteousness of works to cleanse their souls withal.

And on the other side they had set up a righteousness of holy works to cleanse their souls withal; as the pope sanctifieth us with holy oil, holy bread, holy salt, holy candles, holy dumb ceremonies, and holy dumb blessings, and with whatsoever holiness thou wilt, save with the holiness of God's word; which only speaketh unto the heart, and sheweth the soul his filthiness and uncleanness of sin, and leadeth her by the way of repentance unto the fountain of Christ's blood, to wash it away through faith. By the reason of which falso righteousness they were disobedient unto the righteousness of God, which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood, and could not believe it. And so, through fleshly interpreting the law, and false imagined righteousness, their hearts were hardened, and made as stony as clay in a hot furnace of fire, that they could receive neither repentance, nor faith, or any manner<sup>1</sup> of grace at all.

By the worldly and fleshly interpretations of the scriptures the Jews' hearts were hardened.

The heathen repented at the preaching of Jonas.

But the heathen Ninivites, though they were blinded with lusts a good<sup>2</sup>, yet were in those two<sup>3</sup> points uncorrupt and unhardened; and therefore, with the only preaching of Jonas, came unto the knowledge of their sins, and confessed them, and repented truly, and turned every man from his evil deeds, and declared their sorrow of heart and true repentance with their deeds, which they did out of faith and hope of forgiveness; chastising their bodies with prayer and fasting, and with taking all pleasures from the flesh; trusting, as God was angry for their wickedness, even so should he forgive them of his mercy, if they repented, and forsook their misliving.

[<sup>1</sup> So B. of 1551. Day has *moisture*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So B. of 1551. Day omits *a good*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So Day. Hyll's Bible of 1551 has *three*. The two points in which the Ninivites were unhardened and the Jews hardened are placed in contrast, viz. misinterpretation of God's law and imaginary righteousness.]

And in the last end of all thou hast yet a goodly ensample A good and profitable example. of learning, to see how earthy Jonas is still, for all his trying in the whale's belly. He was so sore displeased because the Ninivites perished not, that he was weary of his life, and wished after death, for very sorrow that he had lost the glory of his prophesying, in that his prophecy came not to pass. But God rebuked him with a likeness, saying, 'It grieveth thine heart for the loss of a vile shrub, or spray, whereon thou bestowedst no labour or cost, neither was it thine bandywork. How much more then should it grieve mine heart the loss of so great a multitude of innocents as are in Niniveh, which are all mine hands' work? Nay, Jonas, I am God over all, and father as well unto the heathen as unto the Jews, and merciful to all, and warn ere I smite; neither threat I so cruelly by any prophet, but that I will forgive, if they repent and ask mercy; neither, on the other side, whatsoever I promise will I fulfil it, save for their sakes only which trust in me, and submit themselves to keep my laws of very love, as natural children.'

Note here the great mercy of God.

On this manner to read the scripture is the right use The right manner how to read the scripture. thereof, and why the Holy Ghost caused it to be written: that is, that thou first seek out the law that God will have thee to do, interpreting it spiritually, without gloss or covering the brightness of Moses's face; so that thou feel in thine heart how that it is damnable sin before God not to love thy neighbour that is thine enemy as purely as Christ loved thee; and that not to love thy neighbour in thine heart is to have committed already all sin against him.

And therefore, until that love be come, thou must know-  
ledge unfeignedly that there is sin in the best deed thou doest;  
and it must earnestly grieve thine heart, and thou must wash  
all thy good deeds in Christ's blood, ere they can be pure, All our deeds are made perfect in Christ's blood.  
and an acceptable sacrifice unto God, and must desire God  
the Father for his sake to take thy deeds a worth<sup>4</sup>, and  
to pardon the imperfectness of them, and to give thee power  
to do them better, and with more fervent love.

[<sup>4</sup> A worth, i.e. at worth; meaning, to esteem them as having worth (value) for Christ's sake. In his answer to Sir Thos. More, Tyndale says, 'We have promises that that little we have is taken a worth and accepted.']

And on the other side, thou must search diligently for the promises of mercy which God hath promised thee again.

All the promises made by God in Christ are made to them that repent.

The two keys that open all the scripture.

Which two points, that is to wit, the law spiritually interpreted, how that all is damnable sin that is not unfeigned love out of the ground and bottom of the heart, after the ensample of Christ's love to us, because we be all equally created and formed of one God our Father, and indifferently bought and redeemed with one blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and that the promises be given unto a repenting soul, that thirsteth and longeth after them, of the pure and fatherly mercy of God, through our faith only, without all deserving of our deeds or merits of our works; but for Christ's sake alone, and for the merits and deservings of his works, death, and passions that he suffered altogether for us, and not for himself: which two points, I say, if they be written in thine heart, are the keys which so open all the scripture unto thee, that no creature can lock thee out, and with which thou shalt go in and out, and find pasture and food everywhere. And if these lessons be not written in thine heart, then is all the scripture shut up as a kernel in the shell, so that thou mayest read it, and commune<sup>1</sup> of it, and rehearse all the stories of it, and dispute wittily, and be a profound sophister, and yet understand not one jot thereof.

And thirdly, that thou take the stories and lives which are contained in the bible for sure and undoubted ensamples that God so will deal with us unto the world's end.

Herewith, reader, farewell; and he commended unto God, and unto the grace of his Spirit. And first see that thou stop not thine ears unto the calling of God, and harden not thine heart, heguiled with fleshly interpreting of the law, and false imagined and hypocritish righteousness, and so<sup>2</sup> the Ninivites rise with thee at the day of judgment, and condemn thee.

And secondarily, if thou find ought amiss, when thou seest thyself in the glass of God's word, think it necessary wisdom to amend the same betimes, monished and warned by the ensamples of other men, rather than to tarry until thou be heaten also.

[<sup>1</sup> B. of 1551 and Day have *commen*, which some editors have supposed to be the same as *comment*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Thus B. of 1551, but Day has *least then*.]

And thirdly, if it shall so chance that the wild lusts of thy flesh shall blind thee, and carry thee clean away with them for a time; yet at the latter end, when the God of all mercy shall have compassed thee in on every side with temptations, tribulation, adversities and cumbrance, to bring thee home again unto thine own heart, and to set thy sins which thou wouldest so fain cover, and put out of mind with delectation of voluptuous pastimes, before the eyes of thy conscience; then call the faithful ensample of Jonas and all like stories unto thy remembrance, and with Jonas turn unto thy Father that smote thee, not to cast thee away, but to lay a corrosive and a fretting plaster unto the boil that lay hid and fret inward, to draw the disease out, and to make it appear, that thou mightest feel thy sickness and the danger thereof, and come and receive the healing plaster of mercy.

A very fruitful and good lesson.

How thou mayest at all times apply the stories of the bible to thy great comfort.

And forget not that whatsoever ensample of mercy God hath shewed since the beginning of the world, the same is promised thee, if thou wilt in like manner turn again, and receive it as they did; and with Jonas be aknowen of<sup>3</sup> thy sin, and confess it, and knowledge it unto thy Father.

The law must be fulfilled with the mercy that is in Christ.

And as the law which fretteth thy conscience is in thine heart, and is none outward thing, even so seek within thy heart the plaster of mercy, the promises of forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus Christ, according unto all the ensamples of mercy that are gone before.

And with Jonas let them that wait on vanities, and seek God here and there, and in every temple save in their hearts, go, and seek thou the testament of God in thine heart. For in thine heart is the word of the law; and in thine heart is the word of faith in the promises of mercy in Jesus Christ: so that if thou confess with a repenting heart and knowledge, and surely believe that Jesus is Lord over all sin, thou art safe.

In thy heart are the words of the law, and in thine heart are the promises and mercy of Christ.

And finally, when the rage of thy conscience is ceased, and quieted with fast faith in the promises of mercy, then offer with Jonas the offering of praise and thanksgiving, and pay the vow of thy baptism, that God only saveth, of his only mercy and goodness; that is, helieve stedfastly, and preach constantly, that it is God only that smiteth, and God only that

Our sins is of ourselves: but remission and forgiveness thereof cometh freely, of the mercy of God for Christ's sake.

[<sup>3</sup> *Be aknowen of* is equivalent to *acknowledge*. So Sir Thomas More: 'We say of a stubborn body, that standeth still in the denying of his fault, This man will not knowledge his fault, or he will not be aknowen of his fault.' *Confutation*, p. 157.]

healeth : ascribing the cause of thy tribulation unto thine own sin, and the cause of thy deliverance unto the mercy of God.

John i.

Rom. vi.

John i.

Rom. viii.

God hath no need of our works, but we must do them for ourselves, and for the profit of our neighbours.

Christ hath satisfied for our sins, as well after baptism, as before baptism.

Our actual sins are washed away in Christ's blood.

And say with John in the first [chapter], that as the law was given by Moses, even so grace to fulfil it is given by Christ. And when they say our deeds with grace deserve heaven, say thou with Paul, (Rom. vi.) that "everlasting life is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and that (John i.) we be made sons by faith; and therefore (Rom. viii.) "heirs of God with Christ." And say, that we receive all of God through faith, that followeth repentance; and that we do not our works unto God, but either unto ourselves, to slay the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and to wax perfect; either unto our neighbours, which do as much for us again in other things. And when a man exceedeth in gifts of grace, let him understand that they be given him, as well for his weak brethren, as for himself: as though all the bread be committed unto the panter<sup>1</sup>, yet for his fellows with him, which give the thanks unto their lord, and recompense the panter again with other kind of service in their offices. And when they say that Christ hath made no satisfaction for the sin we do after our baptism; say thou with the doctrine of Paul, that in our baptism we receive the merits of Christ's death through repentance and faith, of which two baptism is the sign: and though when we sin of frailty after our baptism, we receive the sign no more, yet we be renewed again through repentance, and faith in Christ's blood; of which twain that sign of baptism, ever continued among us in baptizing our young children, doth ever keep us in mind, and call us back again unto our profession, if we be gone astray, and promiseth us forgiveness. Neither can actual sin be washed away with our works, but with Christ's blood; neither can there be any other sacrifice, or satisfaction to Godward for them, save Christ's blood: forasmuch as we can do no works unto God, but receive only of his mercy with our repenting faith, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour: unto whom, and unto God our Father through him, and unto his holy Spirit, that only purgeth, sanctifieth, and washeth us in the innocent blood of our redemption, be praise for ever. Amen.

[<sup>1</sup> Panter, or pantner: the keeper of the pantry.]

THE PROLOGUES  
UPON  
THE GOSPELS AND EPISTLES.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

FOR this reprint the text of Day has been collated with the 1534 Antwerp New Testament printed by Martin de Keyser, the quarto New Testament of 1536 and the 1538 Coverdale New Testament in which all Tyndale's prologues are inserted but not with perfect faithfulness. Here and there the editor suppressed comments which bore too hard on popery to be palatable to the rulers of the day.

The 1526 Worms edition of Tyndale's New Testament contained simply the bare text apart from an epilogue, but in the 1534 revision he added numerous prefaces, notes and word definitions. The following prologues date from 1534, except that to Romans.]

## PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST MATTHEW.

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HERE hast thou, most dear reader, the new Testament, or covenant made with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have looked over again, now at the last, with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults, which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein. If aught seem changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech, left in the Greek words; whose preterperfect tense and present tense are oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mood also, and the future tense oft the imperative mood in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and interrogation for a conditional, and such like, is with the Hebrews a common usage. I have also in many places set light in the margin to understand the text by. If any man find faults either with the translation, or aught beside, (which is easier for many to do than so well to have translated it themselves of their own pregnant wits at the beginning, without an ensample,) to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves, and to put what they lust thereto. If I shall perceive, either by myself or by information of other, that aught be escaped me, or might more plainly be translated, I will shortly after cause it to be amended. Howbeit, in many places methinketh it better to put a declaration in the margin, than to run too far from the text. And in many places, where the text seemeth at the first chop<sup>1</sup> hard to be understood, yet the circumstances before and after, and often reading together, make it plain enough.

Moreover, because the kingdom of heaven, which is the

[<sup>1</sup> Lit. at the first proposal of a bargain; on the first consideration.]



scripture and word of God, may be so locked up that he which readeth or heareth it cannot understand it, as Christ testifieth how that the scribes and Pharisees had so shut it up (Matt. xxiii.), and had taken away the key of knowledge (Matt. xxiii.), and had taken away the key of knowledge (Matt. xxiii.), that the Jews, which thought<sup>2</sup> themselves within, (Luke xi.), were yet so locked out, and are to this day, that they can understand no sentence of the scripture unto their salvation, though they can rehearse the texts every where, and dispute thereof as subtilly as the popish<sup>3</sup> doctors of Duns's dark learning, which with their sophistry served us as the Pharisees did the Jews: therefore, that I might be found faithful to my Father and Lord, in distributing unto my brethren and fellows of one faith their due and necessary food, so dressing it and seasoning it, that the weak stomachs may receive it also, and be the better for it; I thought it my duty, most dear reader, to warn thee before, and to shew thee the right way in, and to give thee the true key to open it withal, and to arm thee against false prophets and malicious hypocrites; whose perpetual study is to blind<sup>4</sup> the scripture with glosses, and there to lock it up where it should save the soul, and to make us shoot at a wrong mark, to put our trust in those things that profit their bellies only, and slay our souls.

*The Jews to this day are locked out from the understanding of the scriptures.*  
Ant. ed.

The right way, yea, and the only way, to understand the scripture unto salvation, is that we earnestly and above all things search for the profession of our baptism, or covenants made between God and us. As, for an example, Christ saith, (Matt. v.), "Happy are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Lo, here God hath made a covenant with us, to be merciful unto us, if we will be merciful one to another; so that the man which sheweth mercy unto his neighbour may be bold to trust in God for mercy at all needs: and contrariwise, judgment without mercy shall be to him that sheweth not mercy. So now, if he that sheweth no mercy trust in God for mercy, his faith is carnal and worldly, and but vain presumption: for God hath promised mercy only to the merciful. And therefore the merciless have not God's word that they shall have God's mercy, but, contrariwise,

*The right way into the understanding of the scriptures.*  
W. T.

*Matt. v.*

[<sup>2</sup> Day, *thought*. Test. of 1536 has *though*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So Tyndale in the New Tests. of 1534 and 1536; that of 1538 omits *popish*.]

[<sup>4</sup> So D. The Tests. have *leaven*.]

**Matt. vi.** that they shall have judgment without mercy. And, (Matt. vi.) "If ye shall forgive men their faults, your heavenly Father shall forgive you; but and if ye shall not forgive men their faults, no more shall your Father forgive you your faults." Here also, by the virtue and strength of this covenant, wherewith God of his mercy hath bound himself to us unworthy, he that forgiveth his neighbour, when he returneth and amendeth, may be bold to believe and trust in God for remission of whatsoever he hath done amiss. And contrariwise, he that will not forgive, cannot but despair of forgiveness in the end, and fear judgment without mercy.

The general covenant that God hath made with us.  
Ant. ed.

The general covenant, wherein all other are comprehended and included, is this: If we meek ourselves to God, to keep all his laws, after the example of Christ, then God hath bound himself unto us, to keep and make good all the mercies promised in Christ throughout all the scripture.

In these commandments is contained the whole law.  
Ant. ed.

All the whole law, which was given to utter our corrupt nature, is comprehended in the ten commandments. And the ten commandments are comprehended in these two, Love God and thy neighbour. And he that loveth his neighbour, in God and Christ, fulfilleth these two; and consequently the ten; and finally all the other. Now if we love our neighbours in God and Christ, that is to wit, if we be loving, kind, and merciful to them, because God hath created them unto his likeness, and Christ hath redeemed them and bought them with his blood, then may we be bold to trust in God, through Christ and his deserving, for all mercy. For God hath promised and bound himself to us, to shew us all mercy, and to be a Father almighty to us, so that we shall not need to fear the power of all our adversaries.

Where no good fruits are, there the faith is vain.  
Ant. ed.

Now if any man, that submitteth not himself to keep the commandments, do think that he hath any faith in God, the same man's faith is vain, worldly, damnable, devilish, and plain presumption, as is above said, and is no faith that can justify, or be accepted before God. And that is it that James meaneth in his epistle. For "how can a man believe," saith Paul, "without a preacher?" (Rom. x.) Now read all the scripture, and see where God sent any to preach mercy to any, save unto them only that repent, and turn to God with all their hearts, to keep his commandments. Unto the disobedient, that will not turn, is threatened wrath, vengeance,

**Rom. x.**

and damnation, according to all the terrible acts<sup>1</sup> and fearful examples of the bible.

Faith now in God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the covenants and appointment made between God and us, is our salvation. Wherefore I have ever noted the covenants in the margins, and also the promises. Moreover, where thou findest a promise, and no covenant expressed therewith, there must thou understand a covenant; that we, when we be received to grace, know it to be our duty to keep the law. As for an example, when the scripture saith, (Matt. vii.) "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;" it is to be understood, if that when thy neighbour asketh, seeketh, or knocketh unto thee, thou then shew him the same mercy which thou desirest of God, then hath God bound himself to help thee again, and else not.

What faith  
it is that  
saveth.  
W. T.

Matt. vii.

Also you see that two things are required to be in a christian man. The first is a stedfast faith and trust in almighty God, to obtain all the mercy that he hath promised us through the deserving and merits of Christ's blood only, without all respect to our own works. And the other is, that we forsake evil and turn to God, to keep his laws, and to fight against ourselves and our corrupt nature perpetually, that we may do the will of God every day better and better.

Two things  
are required  
to be in a  
christian  
man.  
W. T.

This have I said, most dear reader, to warn thee, lest thou shouldest be deceived, and shouldest not only read the scriptures in vain and to no profit, but also unto thy greater damnation. For the nature of God's word is, that whosoever read it, or hear it reasoned and disputed before him, it will begin immediately to make him every day better and better, till he be grown into a perfect man in the knowledge of Christ and love of the law of God; or else make him worse and worse, till he be hardened that he openly resist the Spirit of God, and then blaspheme after the example of Pharao, Korah, Abiram, Balaam, Judas, Simon Magus, and such other. This to be even so, the words of Christ (John iii.) do well confirm: "This is condemnation," saith he; "the light is come into the world, but the men loved darkness more than light, for their deeds were evil." Behold, when the light of God's word cometh to a man, whether he read it or hear it preached

What the  
nature of  
God's word  
is. W. T.

John iii.

[<sup>1</sup> So Day. N. T. has *curses*.]

When we  
hear God's  
will and do  
it not, then  
God with-  
draweth his  
mercy and  
favour from  
us.  
Ant. ed.

Rom. i.

He that  
hearkeneth  
to the word  
of God and  
doth it, the  
same shall be  
blessed in  
his deed.  
Ant. ed.  
Matt. xxv.

Luke xii.

Matt. vii.

and testified, and he yet have no love thereto, to fashion his life thereafter, but consenteth still unto his old deeds of ignorance; then beginneth his just damnation immediately, and he is henceforth without excuse, in that he refused mercy offered him. For God offereth<sup>1</sup> mercy upon the condition that he will mend his living; but he will not come under the covenant; and from that hour forward he waxeth worse and worse, God taking his Spirit of mercy and grace from him, for his unthankfulness' sake. And Paul writeth, (Romans i.) that the heathen, because when they knew God, they had no lust to honour him with godly living, therefore God poured his wrath upon them, and took his Spirit from them, and gave them up to their hearts' lusts, to serve sin, from iniquity to iniquity, till they were thoroughly hardened and past repentance. And Pharaoh, because when the word of God was in his country, and God's people scattered throughout all his land, and yet he neither loved them nor it; therefore God gave him up, and in taking his Spirit of grace from him so hardened his heart with covetousness, that afterward no miracle could convert him. Hereunto pertaineth the parable of the talents. (Matt. xxv.) The Lord commandeth the talent to be taken away from the evil and slothful servant, and to bind him hand and foot, and to cast him into utter darkness, and to give the talent unto him that had ten, saying, "To all that have more shall be given; but from him that hath not, that he hath shall be taken from him." That is to say, he that hath a good heart towards the word of God, and a set purpose to fashion his deeds thereafter<sup>2</sup>, and to garnish it with godly living, and to testify it to other, the same shall increase daily more and more in the grace of Christ. But he that loveth it not, to live thereafter and to edify other, the same shall lose the grace of true knowledge, and be blinded again, and every day wax worse and worse, and blinder and blinder, till he be an utter enemy of the word of God, and his heart so hardened, that it shall be impossible to convert him. And (Luke xii.) the servant that knoweth his master's will, and prepareth not himself, shall be beaten with many stripes, that is, shall have greater damnation. And (Matt. vii.) all that hear the word of God, and do not thereafter, build on

[<sup>1</sup> So Day. N. Test. has *him*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So N. Test. Day wants this clause.]

sand; that is, as the foundation laid on sand cannot resist violence of water, but is undermined and overthrown, even so the faith of them that have no lust nor love to the law of God, builded upon the sand of their own imaginations, and not on the rock of God's word, according to his covenants, turneth to desperation in time of tribulation, and when God cometh to judge.

What it is to  
build upon  
the sand.  
Ant. ed.

And the vineyard (Matt. xxi.) planted and hired out to the husbandmen, that would not render to the lord of the fruit in due time, and therefore was taken from them, and hired out to other, doth confirm the same. For Christ saith to the Jews, "The kingdom of heaven shall be taken from you, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof:" as it is come to pass. For the Jews have lost the spiritual knowledge of God, and of his commandments, and also of all the scripture, so that they can understand nothing godly. And the door is so locked up, that all their knocking is in vain, though many of them take great pain for God's sake. And (Luke xiii.) the fig-tree that beareth no fruit is commanded to be plucked up. And, finally, hereto pertaineth, with infinite other, the terrible parable of the unclean spirit, (Luke xi.) which, after he is cast out, when he cometh and findeth his house swept and garnished, taketh to him seven worse than himself, and cometh and entereth in and dwelleth there, and so is the end of the man worse than the beginning. The Jews, they had cleansed themselves with God's word from all outward idolatry, and worshipping of idols; but their hearts remained still faithless to God-ward, and toward his mercy and truth, and therefore without love also and lust to his law, and to their neighbours for his sake; and through false trust in their own works (to which heresy the child of perdition, the wicked bishop of Rome, with his lawyers, hath brought us Christians<sup>3</sup>) were more abominable idolaters than before, and became ten times worse in the end than at the beginning. For the first idolatry was soon spied, and easy to be rebuked of the prophets by the scripture; but the latter is more subtle to beguile withal, and a hundred times of more difficulty to be weeded out of men's hearts.

Luke xi.  
The unclean  
spirit that re-  
turneth in  
worse sort  
than he was  
when he was  
cast forth.  
Ant. ed.

This also is a conclusion, nothing more certain, or more proved by the testimony and examples of the scripture, that

[<sup>3</sup> This parenthesis is in D. but not in N. Test. of 1536.]

Such as are  
professors of  
the word of  
God, and will  
not tame and  
scourge them-  
selves, them  
will God  
plague and  
scourge.  
Ant. ed.

Christ's deeds  
set us in the  
favour of  
God, and our  
own help us  
to continue  
therein.  
W. T.

if any that favoureth the word of God be so weak that he cannot chaste his flesh, him will the Lord chastise and scourge every day sharper and sharper with tribulation and misfortune, that nothing shall prosper with him, but all shall go against him, whatsoever he take in hand; and the Lord will visit him with poverty, with sicknesses, and diseases, and shall plague him with plague upon plague, each more loathsome, terrible, and fearful than other, till he be at utter defiance with his flesh. Let us, therefore, that have now at this time our eyes opened again, through the tender mercy of God, keep a mean. Let us so put our trust in the mercy of God through Christ, that we know it our duty to keep the law of God, and to love our neighbours for their Father's sake which created them, and for their Lord's sake which redeemed them, and bought them so dearly with his blood. Let us walk in the fear of God, and have our eyes open unto both parts of God's covenants, being certified that none shall be partaker of the mercy save he that will fight against the flesh, to keep the law. And let us arm ourselves with this remembrance, that as Christ's works justify from sin, and set us in the favour of God, so our own deeds, through working of the Spirit of God, help us to continue in the favour and the grace into which Christ hath brought us; and that we can no longer continue in favour and grace, than our hearts are set to keep the law.

Furthermore, concerning the law of God, this is a general conclusion, that the whole law, whether they be ceremonies, sacrifices, yea, or sacraments either, or precepts of equity between man and man, throughout all degrees of the world, all were given for our profit and necessity only, and not for any need that God hath of our keeping them, or that his joy is increased thereby, or that the deed, for the deed itself, doth please him: that is, all that God requireth of us, when we be at one with him, and do put our trust in him, and love him, is, that we love every man his neighbour, to pity him, and to have compassion on him in all his needs, and to be merciful unto him. This to be even so, Christ testifieth in the seventh of Matthew, "This is the law and the prophets:" that is, to do as thou wouldest be done to, (according, I mean, to the doctrine of the scripture,) and not to do that thou wouldest not have done to thee, is all that the law requireth

and the prophets. And Paul to the Romans (xiii.) affirmeth also, that "love is the fulfilling of the law," and that he which loveth, doth of his own accord all that the law requireth. And (1 Tim. i.) Paul saith, that "the love of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned, is the end" and fulfilling of the law. For faith unfeigned in Christ's blood causeth thee to love for Christ's sake; which love is the pure love only and the only cause of a good conscience. For then is the conscience pure, when the eye looketh to Christ in all her deeds, to do them for his sake, and not for her own singular advantage, or any other wicked purpose. And John, both in his gospel and also epistles, never speaketh of any other law, than to love one another purely, affirming that we have God himself dwelling in us, and all that God desireth, if we love one the other.

Rom. xiii.

Love is the fulfilling of the law.  
W. T.

1 Tim. i.

Faith is the cause of love.  
W. T.

Seeing then that faith to God, and love and mercifulness to our neighbours, is all that the law requireth, therefore of necessity the law must be understood and interpreted by them: so that all inferior laws are to be kept and observed, as long as they be servants to faith and love; and then to be broken immediately, if through any occasion they hurt either the faith which we should have to God-ward in the confidence of Christ's blood, or the love which we owe to our neighbours for Christ's sake. And therefore, when the blind Pharisees murmured and grudged at him and his disciples, that they brake the sabbath-day and traditions of the elders, and that he himself did eat with publicans and sinners, he answered, (Matt. ix.) alleging Esaias the prophet, "Go rather and learn what this meaneth, I require mercy, and not sacrifice." And, (Matt. xii.) "O that ye wist what this meaneth, I require mercy, and not sacrifice." For only love and mercifulness understandeth the law, and else nothing. And he that hath not that written in his heart, shall never understand the law; no, though all the angels of heaven went about to teach him. And he that hath that graven in his heart, shall not only understand the law, but also shall do, of his own inclination, all that is required of the law, though never law had been given; as all mothers do of themselves, without law, unto their children all that can be required by any law; love overcoming all pain, grief, tediousness, or loathsomeness. And even so, no doubt, if we had continued

Matt. ix.

God requireth mercy and not sacrifice.  
Ant. ed.

Matt. xii.

Only love understandeth the law.  
W. T.

in our first state of innocency, we should ever have fulfilled the law without compulsion of the law. And because the law (which is a doctrine that, through teaching every man his duty, doth utter our corrupt nature) is sufficiently described by Moses, therefore is little mention made thereof in the new testament, save of love only, wherein all the law is included; as seldom mention is made of the new testament in the old law, save here and there are promises made unto them, that Christ should come and bless them and deliver them, and that the gospel and new testament should be preached and published unto all nations.

#### THE GOSPEL AND THE TWO TESTAMENTS.

Gospel.  
W. T.

New testa-  
ment.  
W. T.

Our works  
extend no  
farther than  
to our neigh-  
bour.  
Ant. ed.

The GOSPEL is glad tidings of mercy and grace, and that our corrupt nature shall be healed again for Christ's sake, and for the merits of his deservings only; yet on that condition, that we will turn to God, to learn to keep his laws spiritually, that is to say, of love for his sake, and will also suffer the curing of our infirmities. The new testament is as much to say as a new covenant. The old testament is an old temporal covenant, made between God and the carnal children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, otherwise called Israel, upon the deeds and the observing of a temporal law; where the reward of the keeping is temporal life, and prosperity in the land of Canaan; and the breaking is rewarded with temporal death and punishment. But the new testament is an everlasting covenant made unto the children of God, through faith in Christ, upon the deservings of Christ; where eternal life is promised to all that believe, and death to all that are unbelieving. My deeds, if I keep the law, are rewarded with temporal promises of this life; but if I believe in Christ, Christ's deeds have purchased for me the eternal promise of the everlasting life. If I commit nothing worthy of death, I deserve to my reward that no man kill me; if I hurt no man, I am worthy that no man hurt me. If I help my neighbour, I am worthy that he help me again, &c. So that with outward deeds, with which I serve other men, I deserve that other men do like to me in this world; and they extend no further. But Christ's deeds extend to life everlasting unto all that believe, &c.



These be sufficient in this place concerning the law and the gospel, new testament and old; so that, as there is but one God, one Christ, one faith, and one baptism, even so understand thou that there is but one gospel, though many write it, and many preach it. For all preach the same Christ, and bring the same glad tidings. And thereto Paul's epistles, with the gospel of John, and his first epistle, and the first epistle of St Peter, are most pure gospel, and most plainly and richly describe the glory of the grace of Christ. If ye require more of the law, seek in the prologue to the Romans, and in other places where it is sufficiently entreated of.

#### REPENTANCE.

CONCERNING this word REPENTANCE, or (as they used) "penance," the Hebrew hath in the old testament generally שׁוּב (*sob*), turn, or be converted: for which the translation that we take for St Jerome's' bath most part *converti* 'to turn, to be converted,' and sometime *agere pœnitentiam*. And the Greek in the new Testament hath perpetually μετανοέω, to turn in the heart and mind, and to come to the right knowledge, and to a man's right wit again. For which μετανοέω St Jerome's translation hath sometime *ago pœnitentiam*, 'I do repent;' sometime *pœniteo*, 'I repent;' sometime *pœniteor*, 'I am repentant;' sometime *habeo pœnitentiam*, 'I have repentance;' sometime *pœnitet me*, 'it repenteth me.' And Erasmus useth much this word *resipisco*, 'I come to myself, or to my right mind again.' And the very sense and signification both of the Hebrew and also of the Greek word is, to be converted and to turn to God with all the heart, to know his will, and to live according to his laws; and to be cured of our corrupt nature with the oil of his Spirit, and wine of obedience to his doctrine. Which conversion or turning, if it be unfeigned, these four do accompany it and are included therein.

Why Tyndale used this word repentance, rather than penance. Ant. ed.

*Confession*, not in the priest's ear, (for that is but man's invention,) but to God in the heart, and before all the congregation of God; how that we be sinners and sinful, and that our whole nature is corrupt, and inclined to sin and all unrighteousness, and therefore evil, wicked, and damnable; and his law holy and just, by which our sinful nature is re-

The four parts of repentance. Ant. ed.

[<sup>1</sup> The Latin Vulgate.]

What manner of satisfaction we ought to make.  
Ant. ed.

buked: and also to our neighbours, if we have offended any person particularly. Then *contrition*, sorrowfulness that we be such damnable sinners, and not only have sinned, but are wholly inclined to sin still. Thirdly, *faith* (of which our old doctors have made no mention at all in the description of their penance), that God for Christ's sake doth forgive us, and receive us to mercy, and is at one with us, and will heal our corrupt nature. And fourthly, *satisfaction*, or amends-making, not to God with holy works, but to my neighbour whom I have hurt, and to the congregation of God, whom I have offended, if any open crime be found in me; and submitting of a man's self unto the congregation or church of Christ, and to the officers of the same, to have his life corrected and governed henceforth of them, according to the true doctrine of the church of Christ. And note this, that as satisfaction or amends-making is counted righteousness before the world, and a purging of sin, so that the world, when I have made a full mends, hath no further to complain; even so faith in Christ's blood is counted righteousness and a purging of all sin before God.

Moreover, he that sinneth against his brother, sinneth also against his Father, almighty God: and as the sin committed against his brother is purged before the world with making amends or asking forgiveness, even so is the sin committed against God purged through faith in Christ's blood only. For Christ saith, (John viii.) "Except ye believe that I am he, ye shall die in your sins:" that is to say, 'If ye think that there is any other sacrifice or satisfaction to Godward, than me, ye remain ever in sin before God, howsoever righteous ye appear before the world.' Wherefore now, whether ye call this (*μετάνοια*) repentance, conversion, or turning again to God, either amending, &c.; or whether ye say, 'Repent, be converted, turn to God, amend your living,' or what ye lust; I am content, so ye understand what is meant thereby, as I have now declared.

#### ELDERS.

Why he nameth them elders and not priests.  
Ant. ed.

In the old Testament the temporal heads and rulers of the Jews, which had the governance over the lay or common people, are called elders, as ye may see in the four evangelists. Out of which custom Paul in his epistle, and also

Peter, called the prelates and spiritual governors, which are bishops and priests, elders. Now, whether ye call them elders or priests, it is to me all one, so that ye understand that they be officers and servants of the word of God: unto the which all men, both high and low, that will not rebel against Christ, must obey, as long they preach and rule truly, and no longer<sup>1</sup>.

## THE OFFICE OF ALL ESTATES.

A BISHOP must be faultless, the husband of one wife, honestly apparelled, harberous<sup>2</sup>, apt to teach, not drunken, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, and one that ruleth his own house honestly, having children under obedience with all honesty.

## RULERS.

YE that are rulers in the earth, see that you love righteousness, and that you commit none unrighteousness in judgment.

THOU shalt not favour the poor, nor honour the mighty, but shalt judge thy neighbour righteously.

## THE COMMONS.

YE shall not deceive your brethren, neither with weight nor measure, but shall have true balances and true weights; for I am the Lord your God.

[<sup>1</sup> In Day's folio this kind of appendix to the prologues ceases here. The articles which follow are from the New Test. of 1536. In the 1534 edition these words occur here 'A prologue unto the four Evangelists showing what they were and their authority. And first of St. Matthew. As touching the Evangelists, ye see in the New Testament clearly what they were. First Matthew (as ye read Mt. ix, Mk. ii, Lu. v) was one of Christ's apostles, and was with Christ all the time of his preaching, and saw and heard his own self almost all that he wrote.' The text then continues with the other three Gospel prologues.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hospitable.]

## A PROLOGUE

## UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST MARK.

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OF Mark, read (Acts xii.) how Peter, after he was loosed out of prison by the angel, came to Mark's mother's house, where many of the disciples were praying for his deliverance. And Paul and Barnabas took him with them from Jerusalem, and brought him to Antioch, Acts xii, and Acts xiii. Paul and Barnabas took Mark with them when they were sent to preach; from whom he also departed, as it appeareth in the said chapter, and returned to Jerusalem again. And, Acts xv. Paul and Barnabas were at variance about him; Paul not willing to take him with them, because he forsook them in their first journey. Notwithstanding yet, when Paul wrote the epistle to the Colossians, Mark was with him, as he saith in the fourth chapter; of whom Paul also testifieth, both that he was Barnabas' sister's son, and also his fellow-worker in the kingdom of God.

And, 2 Timothy iv., Paul commandeth Timothy to bring Mark with him, affirming that he was needful to him to minister to him. Finally, he was also with Peter when he wrote his first epistle, and so familiar, that Peter calleth him his son: whereof ye see of whom he learned his gospel, even of the very apostles, with whom he had his continual conversation; and also of what authority his writing is, and how worthy of credence.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST LUKE.

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LUCAS was Paul's companion, at the leastway from the xvith of the Acts forth<sup>1</sup>, and with him in all his tribulation; and he went with Paul at his last going up to Jerusalem. And from thence he followed Paul to Cæsarea, where he lay two years in prison; and from Cæsarea he went with Paul to Rome, where he lay two other years in prison. And he was with Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, as he testi- fieth in the fourth chapter, saying, "The beloved Lucas the physician saluteth you;" and he was with Paul when he wrote the second epistle to Timothy, as he saith in the fourth chapter, saying, "Only Lucas is with me:" whereby ye see the authority of the man, and of what credence and reverence his writing is worthy of, and thereto of whom he learned the story of his gospel; as he himself saith, how that he learned it and searched it out with all diligence of them that saw it, and were also partakers at the doing. And as for the Acts of the Apostles, he himself was at the doing of them, at the least of the most part, and had his part therein, and therefore wrote of his own experience.

[<sup>1</sup> That is, *forward*.]

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST JOHN.

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JOHN, what he was, is manifest by the three first evangelists: first, Christ's apostle, and that one of the chief: then, Christ's nigh kinsman, and for his singular innocency and softness singularly beloved, and of singular familiarity with Christ, and ever one of the three witnesses of most secret things. The cause of his writing was certain heresies that arose in his time, namely two; of which one denied Christ to be very God, and the other to be very man and to be come in the very flesh and nature of man. Against the which two heresies he wrote both his gospel and also his first epistle; and in the beginning of his gospel saith, that "the Word" or thing "was at the beginning, and was with God, and was also very God;" and that "all things were created by it;" and that "it was also made flesh," that is to say, became very man; and "he dwelt among us," saith he, "and we saw his glory." And in the beginning of his epistle he saith, "We shew you of the thing that was from the beginning, which also we heard, saw with our eyes, and our hands handled." And again, "We shew you everlasting life, that was with the Father, and appeared to us, and we heard and saw it," &c. In that he saith that it was from the beginning, and that it was eternal life, and that it was with God, he affirmeth him to be very God. And that he saith, "We heard, saw, and felt," he witnesseth that he was very man also. John also wrote last, and therefore touched not the story that the other had compiled, but writeth most of faith, and promises, and of the sermons of Christ.

This be sufficient concerning the four evangelists and their authority and worthiness to be believed.

# A PROLOGUE

## UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS

### [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

ONLY one copy of this prologue published as a separate work is known to exist. It is to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but it gives no indication of date or place of origin. The prologue must date from some time during 1526, for a letter from Robert Ridley to Archbishop Warham's chaplain, Henry Golde, dated February 1527, ascribes it to Tyndale and Roye, alleging that they are thereby proved to be manifest Lutherans. The prologue is in the list of forbidden books cited by Foxe, vol. IV, p. 667, 1837 edition, and is condemned by More in his 'Confutation' preface as giving a false understanding of Paul. The book has been shown to be the work of Schoeffer's press in Worms from typographical evidence.

The body of the prologue is a translation or paraphrase of Luther's preface which appeared in his 1522 German N.T., and was translated into Latin the following year by Justus Jonas. Westcott has shown that Tyndale used both editions of Luther. Tyndale was not merely copying Luther, as has sometimes been alleged, for he adds whole sections of his own, amounting to about a quarter of the whole work. L. J. Trinterud has recently shown that there are theological differences too, among which he notes a greater stress on the Spirit in Tyndale, and a stronger Augustinian emphasis on man's being able to do the work of the law through love, see *Church History*, 1962, pp. 27 ff. As elsewhere Tyndale is using Luther but with a certain characteristic independence. At the end of the work Tyndale appends a translation of Luther on the Lord's Prayer 'to fill upp the leefte with all.' This little treatise was very popular at the time and had often been translated.

The passages more or less taken from Luther are printed in quotation marks, and the marginal notes in this reprint come from Day's folio, though they differ from those in Matthew's Bible of 1537. Day uses the 1528 text. Dr. Hume says the debt to Luther is probably greater than the P.S. markings show, for the editor 'seems only to have looked at the German version', but Tyndale also used Jonas's Latin one, which incidentally contained Jonas's own additions.]

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

The epistle  
to the Ro-  
man. is the  
excellentest  
part of the  
new Testa-  
ment.

‘FORASMUCH as this epistle is the principal and most excellent part<sup>1</sup> of the new Testament and most pure evangelion’, that is to say, glad tidings, and that we call gospel, and also is a light and a way unto the whole scripture; I think it meet ‘that every christian man not only know it, by rote and without the book, but also exercise himself therein evermore continually, as with the daily bread of the soul. No man verily can read it too oft, or study it too well; for the more it is studied, the easier it is; the more it is chewed, the pleasanter it is; and the more groundly it is searched, the preciouser things are found in it,’ so great treasure of spiritual things lieth hid therein. ‘I will therefore bestow my labour and diligence, through this little preface or prologue, to prepare a way in thereunto, so far forth as God shall give me grace, that it may be the better understood of every man: for it hath been hitherto evil darkened with glosses and wonderful dreams of sophisters, that no man could spy out the intent and meaning of it; which nevertheless of itself is a bright light, and sufficient to give light unto all the scripture.’

Here you  
must note  
these words.

‘First, We must mark diligently the manner of speaking of the apostle, and above all things know what Paul meaneth by these words, the law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, spirit, and such like; or else, read thou it ever so oft, thou shalt but lose thy labour. This word LAW may not be understood here after the common manner, and (to use Paul’s term) after the manner of men,’ or after man’s ways; as that thou wouldest say the law here, in this place, were nothing but learning, which teacheth what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done, as it goeth with man’s law, ‘where the law is fulfilled with outward works only, though the heart be never so far off. But God

Law, how it  
is to be un-  
derstood.

[<sup>1</sup> Luther, right corner-stone.]



judgeth after<sup>2</sup> the ground of the heart, yea, and the thoughts and the secret movings of the mind: therefore his law requireth the ground of the heart,' and love from the bottom thereof, 'and is not content with the outward work only, but rebuketh those works most of all, which spring not of love, from the ground' and low bottom of the heart, though they appear outward never so honest and good; as Christ, in the gospel rebuketh the Pharisees above all other that were open sinners, and calleth them hypocrites, that is to say, *simulars*<sup>3</sup>, and painted sepulchres: which Pharisees yet lived no men so pure, as pertaining to the outward deeds and works of the law; yea, and Paul (Phil. iii.) confesseth of himself that, as touching the law, he was such a one as no man could complain on; and, notwithstanding, was yet a murderer of the Christians, persecuted them, and tormented them so sore that he compelled them to blaspheme Christ, and was altogether merciless, as many are which now feign outward good works.

The law of God requireth the bottom of our hearts.

St Paul was great persecutor of the Christians.

'For this cause the 115th<sup>4</sup> psalm calleth all men liars, because that no man keepeth the law from the ground of the heart, neither can keep it, though he appear outwardly full of good works. For all men are naturally inclined unto evil, and hate the law. We find in ourselves un lust and tediousness to do good, but lust and delectation to do evil. Now where no free lust is to do good, there the bottom of the heart fulfilleth not the law; and there no doubt is also sin, and wrath is deserved before God, though there be never so great outward shew and appearance of honest living.

If we be not willing to do good, then doth sin reign in us.

For this cause concludeth St Paul in the second chapter, that the Jews all are sinners and transgressors of the law, though they make men believe, through hypocrisy of outward works, how that they fulfil the law; 'and saith, that he only which doth the law is righteous before God, meaning thereby, that no man with outward works fulfilleth the law. "Thou," saith he to the Jew, "teachest a man should not break wed-

No man can fulfil the law, but Christ only.

[<sup>2</sup> After is wanting in Matthew's Bible.]

[<sup>3</sup> So D. but in M. B. *dissemblers*. The word *dissimulars* will occur presently, and means persons who conceal what they are; whilst *simulars* means such as pretend to be what they are not.]

[<sup>4</sup> The 115th of the Vulgate is the 116th of the Hebrew and of our authorised version.]

lock, and yet breakest wedlock thyself. Wherein thou judgest another man, therein condemnest thou thyself; for thou thyself doest even the very same things which thou judgest." As though he would say, Thou livest outwardly in the works of the law, and judgest them that live not so. Thou teachest other men, and seest a mote in another man's eye, but art not ware of the beam that is in thine own eye. For though thou keep the law outwardly with works, for fear of rebuke, shame, and punishment, either for love of reward, advantage, and vain-glory; yet doest thou all without lust and love toward the law, and hadst lever a great deal otherwise do, if thou didst not fear the law; yea, inwardly, in thine heart, thou wouldest that there were no law, no, nor yet God, the author and venger of the law, if it were possible; so painful it is unto thee to have thine appetites refrained, and to be kept down.

The pure and perfect keeping of the law is to do the same of love.

'Wherefore then it is a plain conclusion, that thou, from the ground and bottom of thine heart, art an enemy to the law. What prevaileth it now, that thou teachest another man not to steal, when thou thine own self art a thief in thine heart, and outwardly wouldest fain steal if thou durst? Though that the outward deeds abide not alway behind with such hypocrites and dissimulars, but break forth, even as an evil scab cannot always be kept in with violence of medicine.

The law cannot be satisfied but by inward love.

'Thou teachest another man, but teachest not thyself; yea, thou wottest not what thou teachest, for thou understandest not the law aright,' how that it cannot be fulfilled and satisfied, but with an unfeigned<sup>1</sup> love and affection; much less can it be fulfilled with outward deeds and works only.

The law increaseth sin. M. B.

'Moreover, the law increaseth sin, as he saith, (chap. v.) because man is an enemy to the law, forasmuch as it requireth so many things clean contrary to his nature,' whereof he is not able to fulfil one point or tittle as the law requireth it; and therefore are we more provoked, and have greater lust to break it.

The law is spiritual.

'For which cause sake he saith, (chap. vii.) that "the law is spiritual;" as though he would say, If the law were fleshly, and but man's doctrine, it might be fulfilled, satisfied, and stilled with outward deeds. But now is the law ghostly, and no man fulfilleth it, except that all that he doth spring

[<sup>1</sup> So M. B., but Day has *inward*.]

of love from the bottom of the heart. Such a new heart and lusty courage unto the law-ward canst thou never come by of thine own strength and enforcement, but by the operation and working of the Spirit. For the Spirit of God only maketh a man spiritual and like unto the law, so that now henceforth he doth nothing of fear, or for lucre, or vantage's sake, or of vain-glory, but of a free heart and of inward lust. The law is spiritual, and will be both loved and fulfilled of a spiritual heart; and therefore of necessity requireth it the Spirit, that maketh a man's heart free, and giveth him lust and courage unto the law-ward. Where such a spirit is not, there remaineth sin, grudging, and hatred against the law; which law nevertheless is good, righteous, and holy.'

*The spirit of God maketh a man spiritual.*

*The law is good, righteous, and holy.*

'Acquaint thyself therefore with the manner of speaking of the apostle, and let this now stick fast in thine heart, that it is not both one, to do the deeds and works of the law, and to fulfil the law. The work of the law is whatsoever a man doth or can do of his own free-will, of his own proper strength and enforcing. Notwithstanding, though there be never so great working, yet as long as there remaineth in the heart unlust, tediousness, grudging, grief, pain, loathsomeness, and compulsion toward the law, so long are all the works unprofitable, lost, yea, and damnable in the sight of God. This meaneth Paul, (chap. iii.) where he saith, "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God." Hereby perceivest thou, that those sophisters are but deceivers, who teach that a man may and must prepare himself to grace, and to the favour of God, with good works, before he have the Spirit and true faith of Christ. How can they prepare themselves unto the favour of God, and to that which is good, when they themselves can do no good, nor can once think a good thought, or consent to do good, the devil possessing their hearts, minds, and thoughts, captive at his pleasure? Can those works please God, thinkest thou, which are done with grief, pain, and tediousness, with an evil will, with a contrary and grudging mind?" O holy Prosperus, how mightily with the scripture of Paul didst thou confound this heresy twelve hundred years ago, or thereupon<sup>2</sup>!

*Works of the law and the fulfilling of the law are two things.*

*By the works of the law no man can be justified.*

[<sup>2</sup> Prosperus, or Tiro Prosper of Ries in Aquitain, lived in the earlier half of the fifth century, and distinguished himself by his de-

As the law is  
spiritual, so  
it must be  
fulfilled  
spiritually.

‘To fulfil the law is to do the works thereof, and whatsoever the law commands, with love, lust, and inward affection and delectation, and to live godly and well, freely, willingly, and without compulsion of the law, even as though there were no law at all. Such lust, and free liberty to love<sup>1</sup> the law, cometh only by the working of the Spirit in the heart; as he saith in the fifth chapter.’

Where true  
faith is, there  
is the Spirit  
of God.

‘Now is the Spirit none otherwise given, than by faith only, in that we believe the promises of God’ without wavering, how that God is true, and will fulfil all his good promises towards us for Christ’s blood’s sake, as it is plain, (chap. i.): “I am not ashamed,” saith Paul, “of Christ’s glad tidings, for it is the power of God unto salvation to as many as believe;” for at once and together, even as we believe the glad tidings preached to us, the Holy Ghost entereth into our hearts, and looseth the bonds of the devil, which before possessed our hearts in captivity, and held them, that we could have no lust to the will of God in the law; and ‘as the Spirit cometh by faith only, even so faith cometh by hearing the word, or glad tidings, of God, when Christ is preached, how that he is God’s Son and man also, dead and risen again for our sakes, as he saith in chap. iii. iv. x. All our justifying then cometh of faith, and faith and the Spirit come of God, and not of us. <sup>2</sup> When we say, faith bringeth the Spirit, it is not to be understood, that faith serveth the Spirit, or that the Spirit is not present in us before faith: for the Spirit is ever in us, and faith is the gift and working of the Spirit: but through preaching the Spirit beginneth to work in us.

Our justification  
is by  
faith in  
Christ.

fence of the doctrines of Augustine, and by his argumentative replies to their Pelagian opponents. Cave, Script. Eccles. under date of 444. The main tenor of his writings was to the effect designated by Tyndale; and a single passage translated from them by Milner may serve as a specimen of his view of the question respecting man’s ability to do good. ‘The mind, which originally had light from the supreme light, involves the will in darkness, and leaving the light chooses to grow black in earthly darkness, nor can it voluntarily lift up its captive eyes on high; because, by the robbery of the tyrant, it hath even lost the knowledge of the greatness of the wound under which it lies prostrate.’ Milner’s Hist. of the Church of Christ, Cent. V. ch. 13.]

[<sup>1</sup> So D., in M. B. *love* is wanting.]

[<sup>2</sup> The passage included between the asterisks is not in Day’s folio.]

And as by preaching the law he worketh the fear of God ; so by preaching the glad tidings he worketh faith. And now when we believe, and are come under the covenant of God, then are we sure of the Spirit by the promise of God, and then the Spirit accompanieth faith inseparably, and we begin to feel his working. And so faith certifieth us of the Spirit, and also bringeth the Spirit with her, unto the working of all other gifts of grace, and to the working out of the rest of our salvation, until we have altogether overcome sin, death, hell, and Satan, and are come unto the everlasting life of glory. And for this cause we say, Faith bringeth the Spirit.\*

'Hereof cometh it, that faith only justifieth, maketh righteous, and fulfilleth the law : for it bringeth the Spirit through Christ's deservings ; the Spirit bringeth lust, looseth the heart, maketh him free, setteth him at liberty, and giveth him strength to work the deeds of the law with love, even as the law requireth ; then at the last out of the same faith, so working in the heart, spring all good works by their own accord. That meaneth he in the third chapter : for after he hath cast away the works of the law, so that he soundeth as though he would break and disannul the law through faith, he answereth to that might be laid against him, saying, " We destroy not the law through faith, but maintain, further, or establish the law through faith ;" that is to say, we fulfil the law through faith.'

Out of true  
faith spring-  
eth all good  
works.

'Sin in the scripture is not called that outward work only committed by the body, but all the whole business, and whatsoever accompanieth, moveth, or stirreth unto the outward deed ; and that whence the works spring, as unbelief, proneness, and readiness unto the deed in the ground of the heart, with all the powers, affections, and appetites, wherewith we can but sin ; so that we say, that a man then sinneth, when he is carried away headlong into sin, altogether, as much as he is, of that poisonous inclination and corrupt nature, wherein he was conceived and born. For there is none outward sin committed, except a man be carried away altogether, with life, soul, heart, body, lust and mind thereunto. The scripture looketh singularly unto the heart, and unto the root and original fountain of all sin ; which is unbelief in the bottom of the heart. For as faith only justifieth and bringeth the Spirit and lust unto the outward good

Of sin.

Sin, what  
it is.

works; even so unbelief only damneth and keepeth out the Spirit, provoketh the flesh, and stirreth up lust unto the evil outward works, as it happened<sup>1</sup> to Adam and Eve in Paradise.' Gen. iii.

Gen. iii.

Sin in the  
scripture is  
chiefly called  
unbelief.  
John viii.

John xii.

Eph. iv.

Rom. xiii.

1 Pet. i.

1 John ii.

'For this cause Christ calleth sin unbelief; and that notably in John xvi. "The spirit," saith he, "shall rebuke the world of sin, because they believe not in me." <sup>2</sup>\*And, (John viii.) "I am the light of the world." And therefore (John xii.) he biddeth them, "While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light; for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not where he goeth." Now as Christ is the light, so is the ignorance of Christ that darkness whereof he speaketh, in which he that walketh knoweth not whither he goeth; that is, he knoweth not how to work a good work in the sight of God, or what a good work is. And therefore Christ saith, "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world; but there cometh night when no man can work:" which night is but ignorance of Christ, in which no man can see to do any work to please God. And Paul exhorteth, (Eph. iv.) That they "walk not as other heathens, who are strangers from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them." And again, in the same chapter: "Put off the old man, which is corrupt through the lusts of error," that is to say, ignorance. And, (Rom. xiii.) "Let us cast away the deeds of darkness," that is to say, of ignorance and unbelief. And, (1 Pet. i.) "Fashion not yourselves unto your old lusts of ignorance." And (1 John ii.) "He that loveth his brother dwelleth in light, and he that hateth his brother walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes." By light he meaneth the knowledge of Christ, and by darkness the ignorance of Christ. For it is impossible that he who knoweth Christ truly should hate his brother.

Furthermore, to perceive this more clearly, thou shalt understand, that it is not possible to sin any sin at all, except a man break the first commandment before. Now the first commandment is divided into two verses: "Thy Lord God is one God; and thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine heart,

[<sup>1</sup> So Matt. Bible. D. has *fortuned*.]

[<sup>2</sup> The passage between the asterisks is not in Day nor in Luther; but in 1536 edition of Tyndale's New Testament, and in Matthew's Bible.]

with all thy soul, with all thy power, and with all thy might." And the whole cause why I sin against any inferior precept is, that this love is not in mine heart; for were this love written in mine heart, and were it full and perfect in my soul, it would keep mine heart from consenting unto any sin. And the whole and only cause why this love is not written in our hearts is, that we helieve not the first part, that "our Lord God is one God." For wist I what these words, "one Lord and one God," mean; that is to say, if I understood that he made all and ruleth all, and that whatsoever is done to me, whether it be good or bad, is yet his will, and that he only is the Lord that ruleth and doeth it; and wist thereto what this word, "mine," meaneth; that is to say, if mine heart believed and felt the infinite benefits and kindness of God toward me, and understood and earnestly believed the manifold covenants of mercy wherewith God hath bound himself to be mine wholly and altogether, with all his power, love, mercy, and might; then should I love him with all mine heart, soul, power, and might, and of that love ever keep his commandments. So see ye now, that as faith is the mother of all goodness and of all good works; so is unbelief the ground and root of all evil and all evil works.

Finally, if any man that hath forsaken sin, and is converted to put his trust in Christ, and to keep the law of God, do fall at any time, the cause is, that the flesh through negligence hath choked the spirit and oppressed her, and taken from her the food of her strength; which food is her meditation in God, and in his wonderful deeds, and in the manifold covenants of his mercy.\*

'Wherefore then, before all good works, as good fruits, there must needs be faith in the heart whence they spring. And before all bad deeds, as bad fruits, there must needs be unbelief in the heart, as in the root, fountain, pith, and strength of all sin: which unbelief and ignorance<sup>3</sup> is called the head of the serpent, of the old dragon, which the woman's seed, Christ, must tread under foot as promised unto Adam.'

'GRACE and gift have this difference. Grace properly

Grace, how it is understood in the scriptures.

is God's favour, benevolence, or kind mind, which of his

[<sup>3</sup> And ignorance, is not in Day, nor in Luther; but in Matthewo's Bible and the Tyndale of 1536.]

own self, without deserving of us, he beareth to us, whereby he was moved and inclined to give Christ unto us, with all his other gifts of grace. Gift is the Holy Ghost, and his working, which he poureth into the hearts of them on whom he hath mercy, and whom he favoureth. Though the gifts of the Spirit increase in us daily, and have not yet their full perfection, yea, and though there remain in us yet evil lusts and sin, which fight against the Spirit, as he saith here in chap. vii. and Gal. v., and as it was spoken before, in Gen. iii., of the debate between the woman's seed and the seed of the serpent; yet nevertheless God's favour is so great and so strong over us for Christ's sake, that we are counted for full whole, and perfect before God. For God's favour toward us divideth not herself, increasing a little and a little, as do the gifts; but receiveth us whole, and altogether, in full love for Christ's sake, our Intercessor and Mediator, and because the gifts of the Spirit, and the battle between the Spirit and evil lusts, are begun in us already.'

Gift, what it is.

Gal. v.

Gen. iii.

God for Christ's sake, receiveth us.

There is no damnation to them that are in Christ.

'Of this now understandest thou the seventh chapter, where Paul accuseth himself as a sinner, and yet in the eight chapter saith, "there is no damnation to them that are in Christ;" and that because of the Spirit, and because the gifts of the Spirit are begun in us. Sinners we are, because the flesh is not full killed and mortified; nevertheless, inasmuch as we believe in Christ, and have the earnest and beginning of the Spirit, and would fain be perfect, God is so loving and favourable unto us, that he will not look on such sin, neither will count it as sin; but will deal with us according to our belief in Christ, and according to his promises which he hath sworn to us, until the sin be full slain and mortified by death.'

Faith, what it is.

False and feigned faith.

'FAITH is not man's opinion and dream, as some imagine and feign, when they hear the story of the gospel; but when they see that there follow no good works, nor amendment of living, though they hear, yea, and can babble many things of faith, then they fall from the right way, and say, Faith only justifieth not; a man must have good works also, if he will be righteous and safe. The cause is, when they hear the gospel or glad tidings, they feign of their own strength certain imaginations and thoughts in their hearts,



saying, I have heard the gospel, I remember the story, lo! I believe: and that they count right faith; which nevertheless, as it is but man's imagination and feigning, even so it profiteth not, neither follow there any good works, or amendment of living.'

'But right faith is a thing wrought by the Holy Ghost in us, which changeth us, turneth us into a new nature, and begetteth us anew in God, and maketh us the sons of God, as thou readest in the first of John; and killeth the old Adam, and maketh us altogether new in the heart, mind, will, lust, and in all our affections and powers of the soul; the Holy Ghost ever accompanying her, and ruling the heart<sup>1</sup>. Faith True faith is lively. is a lively thing, mighty in working, valiant, and strong, ever doing, ever fruitful; so that it is impossible that he who Faith is not idle. is endued therewith should not work always good works without ceasing. He asketh not whether good works are to be done or not, but hath done them already, ere mention be made of them; and is always doing, for such is his nature; for quick faith in his heart, and lively moving of the Spirit, drive him and stir him thereunto. Whosoever doth not good works, is an unbelieving person, and faithless, and looketh round about him, groping after faith and good works, and wotteth not what faith or good works mean, though he habble never so many things of faith and good works.'

'Faith is, then, a lively and a stedfast trust in the The true definition of faith. favour of God, wherewith we commit ourselves altogether unto God; and that trust is so surely grounded, and sticketh so fast in our hearts, that a man would not once doubt of it, though he should die a thousand times therefor. And such trust, wrought by the Holy Ghost through faith, maketh a man glad, lusty, cheerful, and true-hearted unto God and unto all creatures: whereof, willingly and without compulsion, he is glad and ready to do good to every man, to do service to every man, to suffer all things, that God may be loved and praised, which hath given him such grace; so that it is impossible to separate good works from faith, even as it is impossible to separate heat and burning from fire. Therefore take heed to thyself, and beware of thine own fantasies and imaginations; which to judge of faith and

Good works cannot be separate from faith.

[<sup>1</sup> So Tynd. of 1536 and M. B.; Day has only 'and bringeth the Holy Ghost with her.']

good works will seem wise, when indeed they are stark blind and of all things most foolish. Pray God, that he will vouchsafe to work faith in thine heart, or else shalt thou remain evermore faithless; feign thou, imagine thou, enforce thou, wrestle with thyself, and do what thou wilt or canst.'

Righteousness, and how it is to be understood.

'**RIGHTEOUSNESS** is even such faith; and is called God's righteousness, or righteousness that is of value before God. For it is God's gift, and it altereth a man, and changeth him into a new spiritual nature, and maketh him free and liberal to pay every man his duty. For through faith a man is purged of his sins, and obtaineth lust unto the law of God; whereby he giveth God his honour, and payeth him that he oweth him; and unto men he doth service willingly, wherewithsoever he can, and payeth every man his duty. Such righteousness can nature, free-will, and our own strength, never bring to pass. For as no man can give himself faith, so can he not take away unbelief; how then can he take away any sin at all? Wherefore all is false hypocrisy and sin, whatsoever is done without faith or in unbelief, as it is evident in the fourteenth chapter unto the Romans, though it appear never so glorious or beautiful outwards.'

Flesh and spirit, what they are, and how to understand them.  
John iii.

'**FLESH** and **SPIRIT** mayest thou not here understand as though flesh were only that which pertaineth unto unchastity, and the Spirit that which inwardly pertaineth unto the heart: but Paul calleth flesh here, as Christ doth, John iii., all that is born of flesh; that is to wit, the whole man, with life, soul, body, wit, will, reason, and whatsoever he is or doth within and without; because that these all, and all that is in man, study after the world and the flesh. Call flesh therefore whatsoever we think or speak of God, of faith, of good works, and of spiritual matters, as long as we are without the Spirit of God. Call flesh also all works which are done without grace, and without the working of the Spirit, howsoever good, holy, and spiritual, they seem to be: as thou mayest prove by the fifth chapter unto the Galatians, where Paul numbereth worshipping of idols, witchcraft, envy, and hate, among the deeds of the flesh; and by the eighth unto the Romans, where he saith that the law by the reason of the flesh is weak; which is not understood of unchastity only, but of all sins, and most especially of unbelief, which is a vice most spiritual, and ground of all sins.'

How this word flesh is to be understood in the scripture.

Incredulity is the chief of all sins.

‘And as thou callest him flesh which is not renewed with the Spirit, and born again in Christ, and all his deeds, even the very motions of his heart and mind, his learning, doctrine, and contemplation of high things, his preaching, teaching, and study in the scriptures, building of churches, founding of abbeys, giving of alms, mass, matins, and whatsoever he doth, though it seem spiritual and after the laws of God; so, contrariwise, call him spiritual who is renewed in Christ, and all his deeds which spring of faith, seem they never so gross, as the washing of the disciples’ feet done by Christ, and Peter’s fishing after the resurrection; yea, and whatsoever is done within the laws of God, though it be wrought by the body, as the very wiping of shoes and such like, howsoever gross they appear outwardly. Without such understanding of these words thou canst never understand this epistle of Paul, neither any other place in the holy scripture. Take heed, therefore; for whosoever understandeth these words otherwise, the same understandeth not Paul, whatsoever he be.’

Flesh is here well described.

Whatsoever proceedeth of faith is spiritual.

‘Now will we prepare ourselves unto the epistle.’

‘Forasmuch as it becometh the preacher of Christ’s glad tidings, first, through opening of the law, to rebuke all things, and to prove all things sin, that proceed not of the Spirit and of faith in Christ; and to prove all men sinners, and children of wrath by inheritance; and how that to sin is their nature, and that by nature they can none otherwise do than to sin; and therewith to abate the pride of man, and to bring him unto the knowledge of himself and to misery and wretchedness, that he might desire help; even so doth St Paul. And he beginneth, in the first chapter, to rebuke unbelief and gross sins, which all men see, as idolatry, and as the gross sins of the heathen were, and as the sins now are of all them who live in ignorance, without faith, and without the favour of God; and saith, “The wrath of the God of heaven appeareth through the gospel upon all men, for their ungodliness and unholy living.” For though it be known, and daily understood by the creatures, that there is but one God, yet is nature of herself, without the Spirit and grace, so corrupt and so poisoned, that men neither can thank him, neither worship him, neither give him his due honour; but they blind themselves, and fall without ceasing into worse case, even until they come unto worshipping of images, and work-

A necessary and profitable instruction for all preachers.

The manner of St Paul’s doctrine.

Nature is so blind that we cannot see nor understand the goodness of God and his mercy, shewed unto us in Christ Jesus his Son.

ing of shameful sins, which are abominable and against nature, and moreover they suffer the same unrebuked in others, having delectation and pleasure therein.'

St Paul condemneth all hypocrites.

'In the second chapter the apostle proceedeth further, and rebuketh all those holy people also, which, without lust and love to the law, live well outwardly in the face of the world, and condemn others gladly; as the nature of all hypocrites is, to think themselves pure in respect of open sinners; and yet they hate the law inwardly, and are full of covetousness, and envy, and of all uncleanness (Matt. xxiii.). These are they which despise the goodness of God, and according to the hardness of their hearts heap together for themselves the wrath of God. Furthermore, St Paul, as a true expounder of the law, suffereth no man to be without sin; but declareth that all they are under sin, who of free-will and of nature will live well, and suffereth them not to be better than the open sinners, yea, he calleth them hard-hearted and such as cannot repent.'

How St Paul rebuketh hypocrites.

The difference between the Jew and the Gentile.

'In the third chapter he mingleth both together, both the Jews and the Gentiles; and saith, that the one is as the other, both sinners, and no difference between them, save in this only, that the Jews had the word of God committed unto them. And though many of them believed not thereon, yet is God's truth and promise thereby neither hurt nor diminished; and he taketh in his way, and allegeth the saying of Psalm li., "that God might abide true in his words, and overcome when he is judged." After that he returneth to his purpose again, and proveth by the scripture, that all men, without difference or exception, are sinners; and that by the works of the law no man is justified; but that the law was given to utter and to declare sin only. Then he beginneth and sheweth the right way unto righteousness, by what means men must be made righteous and safe; and saith, they are all sinners and without praise before God, and must, without their own deserving, be made righteous through faith in Christ; who hath deserved such righteousness for us, and is become unto us God's mercy-seat, for the remission of sins that are past: thereby proving that Christ's righteousness, which cometh upon us through faith, helpeth us only. Which righteousness, saith he, is now declared through the gospel, and was "testified of before by the law and the prophets."

All men are sinners.

The way how we must be made righteous.

Furthermore, saith he, the law is holpen and furthered through faith; though that the works thereof, with all their boast, are brought to nought, and are proved not to justify<sup>1</sup>.

Faith obtaineth the fulfilling of the law.

‘In the fourth chapter, after that now, by the three first chapters, sins are opened, and the way of faith unto righteousness laid, he beginneth to answer unto certain objections and cavillations. And first, he putteth forth those blind reasons, which commonly they that will be justified by their own works are wont to make, when they hear that faith only, without works, justifieth; saying, ‘Shall men do no good works? Yea, and if faith only justifieth, what need a man to study for to do good works?’ He putteth forth therefore Abraham for an example, saying, What did Abraham with his works? Was all in vain? Came his works to no profit? And so he concludeth that Abraham, without and before all works, was justified and made righteous; insomuch that, before the work of circumcision, he was praised of the scripture, and called righteous by his faith only (Gen. xv.): so that he did not the work of circumcision, for to be helped thereby unto righteousness, which yet God commanded him to do, and was a good work of obedience. So in like wise, no doubt, none other works help any thing at all unto a man’s justifying: but as Abraham’s circumcision was an outward sign, whereby he declared his righteousness which he had by faith, and his obedience and readiness unto the will of God; even so are all other good works outward signs and outward fruits of faith and of the Spirit; which justify not a man, but shew that a man is justified already before God, inwardly in the heart, through faith, and through the Spirit purchased by Christ’s blood.’

St Paul answereth to the cavilling question, that our papists use against justification of faith only.

Good works are outward signs of true faith.

‘Herewith St Paul now establisheth his doctrine of faith, rehearsed afore in chapter iii., and bringeth also the testimony of David, Psalm xxxii., which calleth a man blessed, not of works, but in that his sin is not reckoned, and in that faith is imputed for righteousness, although he abide not afterward without good works, when he is once justified.’ For we are justified, and receive the Spirit, for to do good works; neither were it otherwise possible to do good works, except we first had the Spirit.

We are first justified, then followeth good works.

For how is it possible to do any thing well in the sight

[<sup>1</sup> And are proved not to justify, is not in Day.]

of God, while we are yet in captivity and bondage under the devil, and the devil possesseth us altogether, and holdeth our hearts, so that we cannot once consent unto the will of God? No man therefore can prevent<sup>1</sup> the Spirit in doing good. The Spirit must first come, and wake him out of his sleep with the thunder of the law, and fear him, and shew him his miserable estate and wretchedness; and make him abhor and hate himself, and to desire help; and then comfort him again with the pleasant rain of the gospel, that is to say, with the sweet promises of God in Christ, and stir up faith in him to believe the promises. Then, when he believeth the promises, as God was merciful to promise, so is he true to fulfil them, and will give him the Spirit and strength, both to love the will of God, and to work thereafter. So we see that God only, who, according to the scripture, worketh all in all things, worketh a man's justifying, salvation, and health; yea, and poureth faith and belief, lust to love God's will, and strength to fulfil the same, into us, even as water is poured into a vessel; and that of his good will and purpose, and not of our deservings and merits. God's mercy in promising, and truth in fulfilling his promises, saveth us, and not we ourselves; and therefore is all laud, praise, and glory to be given unto God for his mercy and truth, and not unto us for our merits and deservings. 'After that, he stretcheth his example out against all other good works of the law, and concludeth that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs, because of blood and kindred only, and much less by the works of the law, but must inherit Abraham's faith, if they will be the right heirs of Abraham; forasmuch as Abraham before the law, both of Moses and also of the circumcision, was through faith made righteous, and called the father of all them that believe, and not of them that work. Moreover, the law causeth wrath, inasmuch as no man can fulfil it with love and lust; and as long as such grudging, hate, and indignation against the law remaineth in the heart, and is not taken away by the Spirit that cometh by faith, so long, no doubt, the works of the law declare evidently that the wrath of God is upon us, and not favour: wherefore faith only receiveth the grace promised unto Abraham. And these examples were not written for Abraham's sake only, saith he, but for

God's mercy moveth us to faith in his promises, so that God in all things worketh our justification.

God's mercy saveth us, and not we ourselves.

If we lack Abraham's faith, we cannot be Abraham's children.

Faith only receiveth the grace that cometh by Abraham.

[<sup>1</sup> Provent: go before.]

ours also; to whom, if we believe, faith shall be reckoned likewise for righteousness; as he saith in the end of the chapter.'

'In the fifth chapter the apostle commendeth the fruits, or works of faith; as are peace, rejoicing in the conscience, inward love to God and man; moreover boldness, trust, confidence, and a strong and lusty mind, and stedfast hope in tribulation and suffering. For all such follow, where the right faith is, for the abundant grace's sake, and gifts of the Spirit, which God hath given us in Christ; in that he gave to<sup>2</sup> him to die for us, while yet his enemies.'

The fruits and works of faith.

'Now have we then that faith only, before all works, justifieth, and that it followeth not yet therefore, that a man should do no good works, but that the right shapen works abide not behind,' but accompany faith, even as brightness doth the sun; and they are called by Paul the fruits of the Spirit. Where the Spirit is, there it is always summer, and there are always good fruits, that is to say, good works. This is Paul's order, That good works spring of the Spirit; the Spirit cometh by faith; and faith cometh by hearing the word of God, when the glad tidings and promises, which God hath made unto us in Christ, are preached truly, and received in the ground of the heart, without wavering or doubting, after that the law hath passed upon us, and hath condemned our consciences. Where the word of God is preached purely, and received in the heart, there is faith, and the Spirit of God; and there are also good works of necessity, whensoever occasion is given. Where God's word is not purely preached, but men's dreams, traditions, imaginations, inventions, ceremonies, and superstition, there is no faith; and consequently no spirit that cometh from God. And where God's Spirit is not, there can be no good works, even as where an apple-tree is not, there can grow no apples; but there is unbelief, the devil's spirit, and evil works. Of this, God's Spirit and his fruits, have our holy hypocrites not once known, neither yet tasted how sweet they are; though 'they feign many good works, of their own imagination, to be justified withal, in which is not one crumb of true faith, of spiritual love, or of inward joy, peace, and quietness of conscience;' forasmuch as they have not the word of God for

Faith before all works justifieth.

Good works are the fruits of faith.

Where true faith is, there are good works.

Where faith lacketh, there is all evil works.

[<sup>2</sup> So M. B.; but Day reads *suffered*, and also omits *while*.]

them, that such works please God, but they are even the rotten fruits of a rotten tree.

As by Adam  
came sin, so  
by Christ  
came salva-  
tion.

‘After that he breaketh forth and runneth at large, and sheweth whence both sin and righteousness, death and life, come. And he compareth Adam and Christ together; thuswise reasoning and disputing, that Christ must needs come as a second Adam, to make us heirs of his righteousness, through a new spiritual birth, without our deservings; even as the first Adam made us heirs of sin, through the bodily generation, without our deserving. Whereby it is evidently known, and proved to the uttermost, that no man can bring himself out of sin unto righteousness, no more than he could have withstood that he was born bodily. And that is proved herewith, forasmuch as the very law of God, which of right should have holpen if any thing could have holpen, not only came and brought no help with her, but also increased sin; because that the evil and poisoned nature is offended and utterly displeased with the law; and the more she is forbid by the law, the more is she provoked, and set a-fire, to fulfil and satisfy her lusts. By the law then we see clearly, that we must needs have Christ to justify us with his grace, and to help nature.’

The principal  
work of faith,  
and the battle  
between the  
Spirit and  
the flesh.

‘In the sixth he setteth forth the chief and principal work of faith; the battle of the Spirit against the flesh, how the Spirit laboureth and enforceth to kill the remnant of sin and lust, which remain in the flesh after our justifying. And this chapter teacheth us, that we are not so free from sin through faith, that we should henceforth go up and down, idle, careless, and sure of ourselves, as though there were now no more sin in us. Yet<sup>1</sup> there is sin remaining in us, but it is not reckoned, because of faith and of the Spirit, which fight against it. Wherefore we have enough to do all our lives long, to tame our bodies, and to compel the members to obey the Spirit and not the appetites; that thereby we might be like unto Christ’s death and resurrection, and might fulfil our baptism, which signifieth the mortifying of sins, and the new life of grace. For this battle ceaseth not in us until the last breath, and until that sin be utterly slain by the death of the body.’

‘This thing (I mean, to tame the body and so forth) we

[<sup>1</sup> Day reads, Yes; there is, &c.]



are able to do, saith he, seeing we are under grace, and not under the law. What it is, not to be under the law, he himself expoundeth. For not to be under the law is not so to be understood, that every man may do what him lusteth : but not to be under the law is to have a free heart renewed with the Spirit, so that thou hast lust inwardly, of thine own accord, to do that which the law commandeth, without compulsion, yea, though there were no law. For grace, that is to say, God's favour, bringeth us the Spirit, and maketh us love the law : so is there now no more sin, neither is the law now any more against us, but at one and agreed with us, and we with it. But to be under the law is to deal with the works of the law, and to work without the Spirit and grace : for so long, no doubt, sin reigneth in us through the law ; that is to say, the law declareth that we are under sin, and that sin hath power and dominion over us, seeing we cannot fulfil the law, namely, within in the heart, forasmuch as no man of nature favoureth the law, consenteth thereunto, and delighteth therein ; which thing is exceeding great sin, that we cannot consent to the law ; which law is nothing else save the will of God.'

What it is not  
to be under  
the law.

What it is to  
be under the  
law.

'This is the right freedom and liberty from sin and from the law ; whereof he writeth unto the end of this chapter, that it is a freedom to do good only with lust, and to live well without compulsion of the law. Wherefore this freedom is a spiritual freedom ; which destroyeth not the law, but ministereth that which the law requireth, and wherewith the law is fulfilled ; that is to understand, lust, and love, wherewith the law is stilled, and accuseth us no more, compelleth us no more, neither hath ought to crave of us any more. Even as though thou wert in debt to another man, and wert not able to pay, two manner of ways mightest thou be loosed : one way, if he would require nothing of thee, and break thine obligation ; another way, if some other good man would pay for thee, and give thee as much as thou mightest satisfy thine obligation withal. On this wise hath Christ made thee<sup>2</sup> free from the law ; and therefore is this no wild fleshly liberty, that should do nought, but that doth all things, and is free from the craving and debt of the law.'

The right  
freedom and  
liberty from  
sin and from  
the law.

Example.

'In the seventh chapter he confirmeth the same with a

[<sup>2</sup> So M. Bib., but Day has us.]

Our consciences bound and in danger to the law by old Adam, so long as he liveth in us.

similitude of the state of matrimony. As when the husband dieth, the wife is at her liberty, and the one loosed and departed from the other; not that the woman should not have the power to marry unto another man, but rather now first of all is she free, and hath power to marry unto another man, which she could not do before, till she was loosed from her first husband: even so are our consciences bound and in danger to the law<sup>1</sup> under old Adam, as long as he liveth in us; for the law declareth that our hearts are bound, and that we cannot dissent from him; but when he is mortified and killed by the Spirit, then is the conscience free and at liberty; not so that the conscience shall now do nought, but now first of all cleaveth unto another, that is to wit Christ, and bringeth forth the fruits of life.' So now to be under the law is not to be able to fulfil the law; but to be debtor to it, and not able to pay that which the law requireth. And to be loose from the law is to fulfil it, and to pay that which the law demandeth, so that it can now henceforth ask thee nought.

The law requireth of us that which we cannot pay.

'Consequently Paul declareth more largely the nature of sin, and of the law; how that through the law sin reviveth, moveth herself, and gathereth strength. For the old man and corrupt nature, the more he is forbidden and kept under of the law, is the more offended and displeased therewith; forasmuch as he cannot pay that which is required of the law. For sin is his nature, and of himself he cannot but sin. Therefore is the law death to him, torment, and martyrdom. Not that the law is evil; but because that the evil nature cannot suffer that which is good, and cannot abide that the law should require of him any good thing; like as a sick man cannot suffer that a man should desire of him to run, to leap, and to do other deeds of a whole man.'

The law doth utter and declare what sin is.

'For which cause St Paul concludeth, that where the law is understood and perceived in the best wise, there it doth no more but utter sin, and bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves; and thereby kill us, and make us bound unto eternal damnation, and debtors to the everlasting wrath of God; even as he well feelth and understandeth, whose conscience is truly touched of the law.' In such danger were we, ere the law came, that we knew not what sin meant, neither yet knew

[<sup>1</sup> A legal phrase for 'Responsible to the law.']

we the wrath of God upon sinners, till the law had uttered it. 'So seest thou that a man must have some other thing, yea, and a greater and a more mighty thing than the law, to make him righteous and safe. They that understand not the law on this wise are blind, and go to work presumptuously, supposing to satisfy the law with works. For they know not that the law requireth a free, a willing, a lusty, and a loving heart. Therefore they see not Moses right in the face; the vail hangeth between, and hideth his face, so that they cannot behold the glory of his countenance, how that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart.' I may of mine own strength refrain, that I do mine enemy no hurt; but to love him with all mine heart, and to put away wrath clean out of my mind, can I not of my own strength. I may refuse money of mine own strength; but to put away love unto riches out of mine heart, can I not do of mine own strength. To abstain from adultery, as concerning the outward deed, I can do of mine own strength; but not to desire in mine heart is as impossible unto me as is to choose whether I will hunger or thirst: and yet so the law requireth. Wherefore of a man's own strength is the law never fulfilled; we must have thereunto God's favour, and his Spirit, purchased by Christ's blood.

What we may  
do of our-  
selves, and  
what we may  
not do.

Nevertheless, when I say a man may do many things outwardly clean against his heart, we must understand that man is but driven of divers appetites; and the greatest appetite overcometh the less, and carrieth the man away violently with her. As when I desire vengeance, and fear also the inconvenience that is like to follow, if fear be greater, I abstain; if the appetite that desireth vengeance be greater, I cannot but prosecute the deed: as we see by experience in many murderers and thieves; who though they are brought into never so great peril of death, yet, after they have escaped, do even the same again: and common women prosecute their lusts, because fear and shame are away: when others, which have the same appetites in their hearts, abstain at the least outwardly, or work secretly, being overcome of fear and of shame; and so likewise is it of all other appetites.

Where fear  
and shame  
is away,  
there all  
wickedness  
is committed.

'Furthermore the apostle declareth, how the Spirit and the flesh fight together in one man; and he maketh an example of himself, that we might learn to know how to work

The flesh is  
contrary unto  
the Spirit.

The Spirit  
lusteth con-  
trary to the  
flesh.

There is no  
danger to  
them that  
are in Christ.

The right  
work of faith  
is to mortify  
the flesh.

aright, I mean, to kill sin in ourselves. He calleth both the Spirit, and also the flesh, a law; because that like as the nature of God's law is to drive, to compel, and to crave, even so the flesh driveth, compelleth, craveth, and rageth against the Spirit, and will have her lusts satisfied. On the other side, the Spirit driveth, crieth, and fighteth against the flesh, and will have his lust satisfied. And this strife dureth in us as long as we live; in some more, and in some less, as the Spirit or the flesh is stronger; and the very man his own self is both the Spirit and the flesh, who fighteth with his own self, until sin be utterly slain, and he altogether spiritual.'

'In the eighth chapter he comforteth such fighters, that they despair not because of such flesh,' neither think that they are less in favour with God. And he sheweth how that the sin remaining in us hurteth not; for there is no danger to them that are in Christ, which walk not after the flesh, but fight against it. 'And he expoundeth more largely what is the nature of the flesh, and of the Spirit; and how the Spirit cometh by Christ, which Spirit maketh us spiritual, tameth, subdueth, and mortifieth the flesh; and certifieth us that we are nevertheless the sons of God and also beloved, though that sin rage never so much in us, so long as we follow the Spirit, and fight against sin, to kill and mortify it. And because nothing is so good to the mortifying of the flesh, as the cross and tribulation, he comforteth us in our passions and afflictions' by the assistance of the Spirit, which maketh intercession to God for us mightily with groanings that pass man's utterance, so that man's speech cannot comprehend them; and the creatures mourn also with us<sup>2</sup> of great desire that they have that we were loosed from sin and corruption of the flesh. So we see that these three chapters, the vi. vii. viii., do nothing so much as to drive us unto the right work of faith; which is to kill the old man, and mortify the flesh.'

'In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters he treateth of God's predestination; whence it springeth altogether; whether we shall believe or not believe; be loosed from sin, or not be

[<sup>1</sup> So Tynd. N. Test. of 1536, and Matt. B. Day has, And because the chastising of the flesh, the cross and suffering are nothing pleasant, he comforteth us, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> So Day. But Tynd. Test. and M. B. have, And with the mourning also of the creatures with us.]

loosed. By which predestination our justifying and salvation are clean taken out of our hands, and put in the hands of God only; which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak and so uncertain, that if it stood in us, there would of a truth be no man saved; the devil, no-doubt, would deceive us. But now is God sure, that his predestination cannot deceive him, neither can any man withstand or let him; and therefore have we hope and trust against sin.'

Predestination is in the hands of God.

'But here must a mark be set to those unquiet, busy, and high-climbing spirits, how far they shall go; which first of all bring hither their high reasons and pregnant wits, and begin first from an high to search the bottomless secrets of God's predestination, whether they be predestinate or not. These must needs either cast themselves down headlong into desperation, or else commit themselves to free chance, careless. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and noose thyself<sup>3</sup> with Christ, and learn to understand what the law and the gospel mean, and the office of both the two; that thou mayest in the one know thyself, and how that thou hast of thyself no strength but to sin, and in the other the grace of Christ; and then see thou fight against sin and the flesh, as the seven first chapters teach thee. After that, when thou art come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering of tribulation, the necessity of predestination will wax sweet, and thou shalt well feel how precious a thing it is. For except thou have born the cross of adversity and temptation, and hast felt thyself brought unto the very brim of desperation, yea, and unto hell-gates, thou canst never meddle with the sentence of predestination without thine own harm, and without secret wrath and grudging inwardly against God; for otherwise it shall not be possible for thee to think that God is righteous and just. Therefore must Adam be well mortified, and the fleshly wit brought utterly to nought, ere that thou mayest away with<sup>4</sup> this thing, and drink so strong wine. Take heed therefore unto thyself, that thou drink not wine, while thou art yet but a suckling. For every learning hath its time, measure, and age;' and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up unto a perfect man in Christ, and be able to eat of more strong meat.

How far we may proceed in predestination.

Predestination is not rashly to be disputed of.

[<sup>3</sup> Find shelter, as a child with a nurse.]

[<sup>4</sup> Away with, i. e. bear with.]

Which are  
good works  
meet to be  
done.

'In the twelfth chapter he giveth exhortations.' For this manner observeth Paul in all his epistles; first he teacheth Christ and the faith, then exhorteth he to good works, and unto continual mortifying of the flesh. So 'here teacheth he good works in deed, and the true serving of God, and maketh all men priests, to offer up, not money and beasts, as the manner was in the time of the law, but their own bodies, with killing and mortifying the lusts of the flesh. After that, he describeth the outward conversation of christian men, how they ought to behave themselves in spiritual things, how to teach, preach, and rule in the congregation of Christ, to serve one another, to suffer all things patiently, and to commit the wreak and vengeance to God: in conclusion, how a christian man ought to behave himself unto all men, to friend, foe, or whatsoever he be. These are the right works of a christian man, which spring out of faith. For faith keepeth not holiday, neither suffereth any man to be idle, wheresoever she dwelleth.'

Love is the  
fulfilling of  
the law.

'In the thirteenth chapter he teacheth to honour the worldly and temporal sword. For though that man's law and ordinance make not a man good before God, neither justify him in the heart, yet are they ordained for the furtherance of the commonwealth, to maintain peace, to punish the evil, and to defend the good. Therefore ought the good to honour the temporal sword, and to have it in reverence, though as concerning themselves they need it not,' but would abstain from evil of their own accord; yea, and do good without man's law, but by the law of the Spirit, which governeth the heart, and guideth it unto all that is the will of God. 'Finally, he comprehendeth and knitteth up all in love.' Love of her own nature bestoweth all that she hath, and even her own self, on that which is loved. Thou needest not to bid a kind mother to be loving unto her only son; much less doth spiritual love, which hath eyes given her of God, need man's law to teach her to do her duty. And as in the beginning the apostle put forth Christ, as the cause and author of our righteousness and salvation, even so 'he setteth him forth here as an example to counterfeit, that as he hath done to us, even so should we do one to another.'

We must deal  
lovingly with  
our weak  
brethren.

'In the fourteenth chapter he teacheth to deal soberly with the consciences of the weak in the faith, which yet understand not the liberty of Christ perfectly enough; and to

favour them of christian love; and not to use the liberty of the faith unto binderance, but unto the furtherance and edifying of the weak. For where such consideration is not, there followeth debate and despising of the gospel. It is better then to forbear the weak awhile, until they wax strong, than that the learning of the gospel<sup>1</sup> should come altogether under foot.' And such work is a singular work of love; yea, and where love is perfect, there must needs be such a respect unto the weak; a thing that Christ commanded and charged to be had above all things.

'In the fifteenth chapter he setteth forth Christ again, to be followed<sup>2</sup>; that we also by his example should bear with others that are yet weak, as them that are frail, open sinners, unlearned, unexpert, and of loathsome manners; and not cast them away forthwith, but suffer them till they wax better, and exhort them in the mean time. For so dealt Christ in the gospel, and now dealeth with us, daily suffering our imperfectness, weakness, conversation, and manners not yet fashioned after the doctrine of the gospel, but which smell of the flesh, yea, and sometimes break forth into outward deeds. After that, to conclude withal, he wisheth them increase of faith, peace, and joy of conscience; praiseth them, and committeth them to God, and magnifieth his office and administration in the gospel; and soberly, and with great discretion, desireth succour and aid of them for the poor sauits of Jerusalem: and it is all pure love that he speaketh or dealeth withal.'

The weakness of our brethren is to be considered.

'So find we in this epistle plenteously, unto the uttermost, whatsoever a christian man or woman ought to know; that is to wit, what the law, the gospel, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, Christ, God, good works, love, hope, and the cross are; and even wherein the pith of all, that pertaineth to the christian faith, standeth; and how a christian man ought to behave himself unto every man, be he perfect or a sinner, good or bad, strong or weak, friend or foe; and in conclusion, how to behave ourselves both toward God, and toward ourselves also. And all things are profoundly grounded in the scriptures, and declared with examples of himself, of the fathers, and of the prophets, that a man can here desire no

In the Epistle to the Romans is contained a sufficient doctrine for a christian man.

[<sup>1</sup> So Tynd. Test. and Matt. B. In *Day of the gospel* is omitted.]

[<sup>2</sup> So Tynd. N. T. and Matt. B. *Day has counterfeited.*]

more. Wherefore it appeareth evidently, that Paul's mind was to comprehend briefly in this epistle all the whole learning of Christ's gospel, and to prepare an introduction unto all the old Testament. For without doubt, whosoever hath this epistle perfectly in his heart, the same hath the light and the effect of the old Testament with him. Wherefore let every man, without exception, exercise himself therein diligently, and record<sup>1</sup> it night and day continually, until he be fully acquainted therewith.'

Beware of  
the traditions  
of men.

'The last chapter is a chapter of recommendation, wherein he yet minglcth a good monition, that we should beware of the traditions and doctrine of men, which beguile the simple with sophistry and learning that is not after the gospel,' and draw them from Christ, and noosel them in weak and feeble, and (as Paul calleth them in the epistle to the Galatians,) in beggarly ceremonies, for the intent that they would live in fat pastures, and be in authority and be taken as Christ, yea, and above Christ, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, in the consciences of men, where God only, his word and his Christ, ought to sit. Compare therefore all manner doctrine of men unto the scripture, and see whether they agree or not. And commit thyself whole and altogether unto Christ; and so shall he with his Holy Spirit, and with all his fulness, dwell in thy soul. Amen<sup>2</sup>.

The sum and whole cause of the writing of this epistle is, to prove that a man is justified by faith only; which proposition whose denieth, to him is not only this epistle and all that Paul writeth, but also the whole scripture, so locked up, that he shall never understand it to his soul's health. And, to bring a man to the understanding and feeling that faith only justifieth, Paul proves that the whole nature of man is so poisoned and so corrupt, yea, and so dead, concerning godly living or godly thinking, that it is impossible for her to keep the law in the sight of God; that is to say, to love it, and of love and willingness to do it as naturally as a man eats or drinks, until he be quickened again and healed through faith. And by justifying, understand no other thing than to be reconciled to God, and to be restored unto his favour, and to have thy sins forgiven thee. As, when I say, God justifieth us, un-

[<sup>1</sup> Record, in the sense of the Latin *recordor*, to call to mind.]

[<sup>2</sup> In Day the prologue ends here.]



derstand thereby, that God for Christ's sake, merits, and deservings only, receiveth us unto his mercy, favour, and grace, and forgiveth us our sins. And when I say, Christ justifieth us, understand thereby, that Christ only hath redeemed us, bought, and delivered us out of the wrath of God and damnation, and bath with his works only purchased us the mercy, the favour, and grace of God, and the forgiveness of our sins. And when I say, that faith justifieth, understand thereby, that faith and trust in the truth of God and in the mercy promised us for Christ's sake, and for his deserving and works only, doth quiet the conscience and certify her that our sins be forgiven, and we in the favour of God.

Furthermore, set before thine eyes Christ's works and thine own works. Christ's works only justify thee, and make satisfaction for thy sin, and not thine own works; that is to say, quiet thy conscience, and make thee sure that thy sins are forgiven thee, and not thine own works. For the promise of mercy is made thee for Christ's work's sake, and not for thine own work's sake.

Wherefore, seeing God hath not promised that thine own works shall save thee, therefore faith in thine own works can never quiet thy conscience, nor certify thee before God, when God cometh to judge and to take a reckoning, that thy sins are forgiven thee. Beyond all this, mine own works can never satisfy the law, or pay that I owe it: for I owe the law to love it with all mine heart, soul, power, and might; which to pay I am never able, while I am compassed with flesh. No, I cannot once begin to love the law, except I be first sure by faith, that God loveth me and forgiveth me.

Finally, that we say, Faith only justifieth, ought to offend no man. For if this be true, that Christ only redeemed us, Christ only bare our sins, made satisfaction for them, and purchased us the favour of God; then must it needs be true that the trust only in Christ's deserving and in the promises of God the Father, made to us for Christ's sake, doth alone quiet the conscience, and certify it that the sins are forgiven. And when they say, A man must repent, forsake sin, and have a purpose to sin no more, as nigh as he can, and love the law of God; therefore faith alone justifieth not: I answer, That and all like arguments are naught, and like to this—I must repent and be sorry; the gospel must be preached me,

and I must believe it, or else I cannot be partaker of mercy, which Christ hath deserved for me. Therefore Christ only justifieth me not; or Christ only hath not made satisfaction for my sins. As this is a naughty argument, so is the other.

Now go to, reader, and according to the order of Paul's writing, even so do thou. First, behold thyself diligently in the law of God, and see there thy just damnation. Secondly, turn thine eyes to Christ, and see there the exceeding mercy of thy most kind and loving Father. Thirdly, remember that Christ made not this atonement that thou shouldest anger God again; neither died he for thy sins, that thou shouldest live still in them; neither cleansed he thee, that thou shouldest return, as a swine, unto thine old puddle again; but that thou shouldest be a new creature, and live a new life after the will of God, and not of the flesh. And be diligent, lest through thine own negligence and unthankfulness thou lose this favour and mercy again. Farewell.

## THE PROLOGUE

### UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THIS epistle declareth itself from chapter to chapter, that it needeth no prologue, or introduction to declare it. When Paul had converted a great number at Corinthum, as ye read in Acts xviii., and was departed, there came immediately false apostles and sect-makers, and drew every man<sup>1</sup> disciples after him; so that the people were whole unquieted, divided and at variance among themselves, every man for the zeal of his doctor; those new apostles not regarding what division, what uncleanness of living, or what false opinions were among the people, as long as they might be in authority, and well at ease in their bellies. But Paul in the first four chapters with great wisdom and soberness rebuketh<sup>2</sup> first the division and the authors thereof; and calleth the people to Christ again, and teacheth how and for what the preacher is to be taken.

In the vth, he rebuketh the uncleanness that was amongst them.

In the vith he rebuketh the debate and going to law together, and pleading their causes before the heathen.

In the viith he reformeth<sup>3</sup> them concerning chastity and marriage.

In the viiith, ixth, xth and xith, he teacheth the strong to forbear the weak, that yet understand not the liberty of the gospel; and that with the ensample of himself, which though he were an apostle, and had authority, yet of love he abstained, to win other. And he feareth them with the ensamples of the old Testament; and rebuketh divers disorders that were among them concerning the sacrament, and the going bare-headed of married women.

Weak and young consciences are to be forbore, for the last shall receive the equal reward with the first. Ant. ed.

In the xiiith, xiiiith and xivth he teacheth of the manifold gifts of the Spirit, and proveth by a similitude of the body, that all gifts are given, that each should help other, and

[<sup>1</sup> So Tyndale's Testaments. D. has *man's*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Tests. *rebuketh*. D. *rebuked*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So Day. Test. of 1536 has *informeth*.]

Love fulfill-  
eth the law.  
Ant. ed.

through love do service to other; and proveth, that where love is not, there is nothing that pleaseth God. For that one should love another, is all that God requireth of us; and therefore, if we desire spiritual gifts, he teacheth those gifts to be desired that help our neighbours.

In the xvth he teacheth of the resurrection of the body, and in the last he exhorteth to help the poor saints.

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## THE PROLOGUE

### UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

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As in the first Epistle he rebuketh the Corinthians sharply, so in this he comforteth them, and praiseth them, and commandeth him that was excommunicated to be received lovingly into the congregation again.

It is the part  
of a good  
shepherd to  
venture his  
life for his  
sheep.  
Ant. ed.

And in the first and second chapters he sheweth his love to them-ward, how that all that he spake, did, or suffered was for their sakes, and for their salvation.

Tribulation  
for the gos-  
pel's sake  
maketh us  
sure of eter-  
nal life.  
Ant. ed.

Then in the iiii<sup>d</sup>, iv<sup>th</sup> and v<sup>th</sup> he praiseth the office of preaching the gospel above the preaching of the law; and sheweth that the gospel groweth through persecution, and through the cross, which maketh a man sure of eternal life: and here and there he toucheth the false prophets, which studied to turn the faith of the people from Christ unto the works of the law.

In the vi<sup>th</sup> and vii<sup>th</sup> chapters, he exhorteth them to suffer with the gospel, and to live as it becometh the gospel, and praiseth them in the latter end.

In the viii<sup>th</sup> and ix<sup>th</sup> chapters he exhorteth them to help the poor saints that were at Jerusalem.

In the x<sup>th</sup>, xi<sup>th</sup> and xii<sup>th</sup> he inveigheth against the false prophets.

And in the last chapter he threateneth them that had sinned and not amended themselves.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.

As ye read (Acts xv.) how certain came from Jerusalem Acts xv. to Antioch, and vexed the disciples there, affirming that they could not be saved except they were circumcised; even so, after Paul had converted the Galatians, and coupled them to Christ, to trust in him only for the remission of sin, and hope of grace and salvation, and was departed, there came false apostles unto them, (as unto the Corinthians, and unto all places where Paul had preached,) and that in the name of Peter, James, and John, whom they called the high apostles, and preached circumcision, and the keeping of the law, to be saved by; and minished Paul's authority.

To the confounding of those, Paul magnifieth his office and apostleship in the two first chapters, and maketh himself equal unto the high apostles; and concludeth that every man must be justified without deservings, without works, and without help of the law; but alone by Christ. All that repent are justified through faith by Christ, and not by works. W. T.

In the iiii<sup>d</sup> and iv<sup>th</sup> he proveth the same with scripture, examples and similitudes, and sheweth that the law is cause of more sin, and bringeth the curse of God upon us, and justifieth us not; but that justifying cometh of grace promised us of God, through the deserving of Christ, by whom (if we believe) we are justified without help of the works of the law. The law condemneth, but the believing of God's promises justifieth. W. T.

And in the v<sup>th</sup> and vi<sup>th</sup> he exhorteth unto the works of love, which follow faith and justifying.

So that in all his epistle he observeth this order; first he preacheth the damnation of the law, then the justifying of faith, and thirdly the works of love. For on that condition, that we love henceforth and work, is the mercy given us; or else, if we will not work the will of God henceforward, we fall from favour and grace; and the inheritance that is freely given us for Christ's sake, through our own fault we lose again.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS.

In this epistle, and namely in the first three chapters, Paul sheweth that the gospel and grace thereof was foreseen and predestinate of God from before the beginning, and deserved through Christ, and now at the last sent forth, that all men should believe thereon; thereby to be justified, made righteous, living and happy, and to be delivered from under the damnation of the law and captivity of ceremonies.

In seeking  
any other  
satisfaction  
than Christ,  
we deceive  
ourselves.  
W. T.

And in the fourth he teacheth to avoid traditions and men's doctrine, and to beware of putting trust in any thing save Christ; affirming that he only is sufficient, and that in him we have all things, and besides him need nothing.

In the vth and vith he exhorteth to exercise the faith, and to declare it abroad through good works, and to avoid sin, and to arm them with spiritual armour against the devil, that they might stand fast in time of tribulation and under the cross.

## THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Hereby are  
we warned  
that works  
save us not,  
but the word,  
that is, the  
promise.  
ANT. ed.

PAUL praiseth the Philippians, and exhorteth them to stand fast in the true faith, and to increase in love. And because that false prophets study always to impugn and destroy the true faith, he warneth them of such work-learners or teachers of works, and praiseth Epaphroditus: and all this doth he in the first and second chapters.

In the third he reproveth the faithless, and man's righte-

ousness which false prophets teach and maintain; and he setteth himself<sup>1</sup> for an ensample, how that he himself had lived in such false righteousness and holiness unrebukeable<sup>2</sup>; that no man could complain on him, and yet now setteth nought thereby for Christ's righteousness' sake. And finally, he affirmeth that such false prophets are the enemies of the cross, and make their bellies their God; for further than they may safely, and without all peril and suffering, will they not preach Christ.

Man's righteousness, seal, or imagination, without God's word, is odious.  
W. T.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS.

As the epistle to the Galatians holdeth the manner and fashion of the epistle to the Romans, briefly comprehending all that is therein at length disputed; even so this epistle followeth the ensample of the epistle to the Ephesians, containing the tenor of the same epistle with fewer words.

In the first chapter he praiseth them, and wisheth that they continue in the faith, and grow perfecter therein; and then describeth he the gospel, how that it is a wisdom that confesseth Christ to be the Lord and God, crucified for us, and a wisdom that hath been hid in Christ, since afore the beginning of the world, and now first begun to be opened through the preaching of the apostles.

For faith, when it is preached, bringeth the Spirit and power to fulfil the law.  
W. T.

In the second he warneth them of men's doctrine, and describeth the false prophets to the uttermost, and rebuketh them according.

In the third he exhorteth to be fruitful in the pure faith, with all manner of good works one to another; and describeth all degrees, and what their duties are.

Whoso hath a pure faith, cannot but abound with good works.  
W. T.

In the fourth he exhorteth to pray, and also to pray for him, and saluteth them.

[<sup>1</sup> So Test. D. has *him*.]

[<sup>2</sup> D. adds, *that was so*.]

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE  
THESSALONIANS.

Not the receiving of the gospel, but the continuance to the latter end, maketh us blessed.  
W. T.

THIS epistle did Paul write of exceeding love and care, and praiseth them in the two first chapters, because they did receive the gospel earnestly, and had in tribulation and persecution continued therein stedfastly; and were become an ensample unto all congregations; and had thereto suffered of their own kinsmen, as Christ and his apostles did of the Jews; putting them thereto in mind, how purely and godly he had lived among them to their ensample; and thanketh God that his gospel had brought forth such fruit among them.

He meaneth thereby lest they should fall from the word they had already received.  
Aut. ed.

In the third chapter he sheweth his diligence and care, lest his so great labour, and their so blessed a beginning, should have been in vain; Satan and his apostles vexing them with persecution, and destroying their faith with men's doctrine. And therefore he sent Timothy to them to comfort them, and strengthen them in the faith; and thanketh God that they had so constantly endured; and desireth God to increase them.

In the fourth he exhorteth them to keep themselves from sin, and to do good one to another; and thereto he informeth them concerning the resurrection.

In the fifth he writeth of the last day, that it should come suddenly; exhorting to prepare themselves thereafter, and to keep a good order concerning obedience and rule.



## THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE  
THESSALONIANS.

BECAUSE in the fore-epistle he had said the last day should come suddenly, the Thessalonians thought it should have come shortly; wherefore in this epistle he declareth himself.

And in the first chapter he comforteth them with everlasting reward of their faith and patience in suffering for the gospel, and with the punishment of their persecutors in everlasting pain.

In the second he sheweth that the last day should not come till there were first a departing, as some men think, from under the obedience of the emperor of Rome; and that Antichrist should set up himself in the same place as God, and deceive the unthankful world with false doctrine, and with false and lying miracles, wrought by the working of Satan, until Christ should come, and slay him with his glorious coming and spiritual preaching of the word of God.

In the third he giveth them exhortation, and warneth them to rebuke the idle, that would not labour with their hands, and avoid their company if they would not amend.

Patience and persecution, for Christ's sake, rewarded with the crown of everlasting joy and felicity.  
Ant. ed.  
Hereby have we evident signs that the latter day is at hand.  
Ant. ed.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TIMOTHY.

THIS epistle writeth St Paul to be an ensample to all bishops, what they should teach, and how they should teach<sup>1</sup>;

[<sup>1</sup> So Day. . The words *and how they should teach* are not in the collated Testaments.]

and how they should govern the congregation of Christ in all degrees; that it should be no need to govern Christ's flock with the doctrine of their own good meanings.

The office of  
a bishop.  
W. T.

In the first chapter he commandeth that the bishop should maintain the right faith and love, and resist false preachers, which make the law and works equal with Christ and his gospel. And he maketh a short conclusion of all Christian<sup>1</sup> learning; whereto the law serveth, and what the end thereof is, also what the gospel is; and setteth himself for a comfortable ensample unto all sinners and troubled consciences.

In the second he commandeth to pray for all degrees; and chargeth that the women shall not preach or wear costly apparel, but to be obedient unto the men.

In the third he describeth what manner persons the bishop or priest and their wives should be, and also the deacons and their wives; and commendeth it if any man desire to be a bishop after that manner.

The pope and  
his prelates  
are here  
plainly set  
forth; for  
what Christ  
loosed freely,  
the pope did  
bind it, to  
lose it again  
for money.  
ANL ed.

In the fourth he prophesieth, and sheweth before, of the false bishops and spiritual officers, that should arise among the Christian people, and he, do, and preach clean contrary to the fore-described ensample; and should depart from the faith in Christ, and forbid to marry, and to eat certain meats, teaching to put trust therein, both of justifying and forgiveness of sins, and also of deserving of eternal life.

Virtuous  
bishops are  
worthy  
double  
honour.  
W. T.

In the fifth he teacheth how a bishop should use himself toward young and old, and concerning widows what is to be done, and which should be found of the common cost; and teacheth also how men should honour the virtuous bishops and priests, and how to rebuke the evil.

In the sixth he exhorteth the bishops<sup>2</sup> to cleave to the gospel of Christ and true doctrine, and to avoid vain questions, and superfluous disputings, which gender strife, and quench the truth; and by which also the false prophets get them authority, and seek to satisfy their insatiable covetousness.

[<sup>1</sup> So Testaments. D. has *Christs*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So Day. The Tests. have *bishop*.]

## THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TIMOTHY.

In this epistle Paul exhorteth Timothy to go forward as he had begun, and to preach the gospel with all diligence, as it need was, seeing many were fallen away, and many false spirits<sup>3</sup> and teachers were sprung up already. Wherefore a bishop's part is ever to watch, and to labour in the gospel.

Bishops must be vigilant in their vocation.  
W. T.

In the third and fourth he sheweth before, and that notably, of the jeopardous time toward the end of the world, in which a false spiritual living should deceive the whole world with outward hypocrisy and appearance of holiness; under which all abominations should have their free passage and course, as we (alas!) have seen this prophecy of St Paul fulfilled in our spirituality unto the uttermost jot.

This hath already been fulfilled in our spirituality.  
W. T.

## THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TITUS.

This is a short epistle; wherein yet is contained all that is needful for a Christian to know.

In the first chapter he sheweth what manner a man a bishop or curate ought to be, that is to wit, virtuous and learned, to preach and defend the gospel, and to confound the doctrine of trusting in works and men's traditions; which ever fight against the faith, and carry away the conscience captive from the freedom which is in Christ, into the bondage of their own imaginations and inventions, as though those things should make a man good in the sight of God, which are to no profit at all.

What manner a man a bishop or curate ought to be.  
W. T.

[<sup>3</sup> Test. of 1534 wants the words, *false spirits*.]

In the second he teacheth all degrees, old, young, men, women, masters and servants, how to behave themselves; as they which Christ hath bought with his blood, to be his proper or peculiar people, to glorify God with good works.

Good works  
please God so  
far forth as  
they are ap-  
plied to the  
keeping of  
the com-  
mandments,  
but Christ  
only justifi-  
eth.  
W. T.

In the third he teacheth to honour temporal rulers, and to obey them; and yet bringeth to Christ again, and to the grace that he hath purchased for us; that no man should think that the obedience of princes' laws, or any other works, should justify us before God. And last of all, he chargeth to avoid the company of the stubborn and of the heretics.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL UNTO PHILEMON.

In this epistle St Paul sheweth a godly ensample of christian love. Herein we see how Paul taketh poor Onesimos unto him, and maketh intercession for him unto his master, and helpeth him with all that he may, and believeth himself none otherwise than as though he himself were the said Onesimos: which thing yet he doth not with power and authority, as he well might have done, but putteth off all authority, and whatsoever he might of right do, that Philemon might do likewise toward Onesimos; and with great meekness and wisdom teacheth Philemon to see his duty in Christ Jesus.

## A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE HEBREWS.

ABOUT this epistle hath ever been much doubting, and that among great learned men, who should be the author thereof; divers affirming that it was not Paul's, partly because the style so disagreeeth, and is so unlike his other epistles, and partly because it standeth in the second chapter, this learning was confirmed to us-ward, that is to say, taught us by them that heard it themselves of the Lord. Now Paul testifieth, (Gal. i.) that he received not his gospel of man, nor by man, but immediately of Christ, and that by revelation. Wherefore, say they, seeing this man confesseth that he received his doctrine of the apostles, it cannot be Paul's, but some disciple of the apostles. Now whether it were Paul's or no, I say not, but permit it to other men's judgments; neither think I it to be an article of any man's faith, but that a man may doubt of the author.

Whether this  
were Paul's  
epistle or  
no, great  
learned men  
have doubt-  
ed.  
Ant. ed.

Moreover, many there hath been, which not only have denied this epistle to have been written by any of the apostles, but have also refused it altogether, as no catholic or godly epistle, because of certain texts written therein. For first he saith in the sixth: "It is impossible that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they fall, should be renewed again to repentance" or conversion. And in the tenth it saith: "If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a fearful looking for judgment, and violent fire which shall destroy the adversaries." And in the twelfth it saith, that Esau found no way to repentance, or conversion; no, though he sought it with tears. Which texts, say they, sound, that if a man sin any more after he is once baptized, he can be no more

Some deny  
it to have  
been written  
by any  
apostle, and  
refuse it as  
not catholic.  
Ant. ed.

forgiven; and that is contrary to all the scripture, and therefore to be refused to be catholic and godly.

A solution of  
the former  
doubts.

This not to be  
denied to be  
Paul's epistle.

Unto which I answer, If we should deny this epistle for those texts' sakes, so should we deny first Matthew, which in his xiith chapter affirmeth, that he which blasphemeth the Holy Ghost shall neither be forgiven here nor in the world to come: and then Mark, which in his third chapter saith, that he that blasphemeth the Holy Ghost shall never have forgiveness; but shall be in danger of eternal damnation: and thirdly, Luke, which saith there shall be no remission to him that blasphemeth the Spirit of God. Moreover, John in his first epistle saith, "There is a sin unto death; for which a man should not pray." And 2 Pet. ii. saith, "If a man be fled from the uncleanness of the world through the knowledge of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and then be wrapped in again, his end is worse than the beginning; and that it had been better for him never to have known the truth." And Paul, 2 Tim. iv. curseth Alexander the coppersmith, desiring the Lord to reward him according to his deeds; which is a sign that either the epistle should not be good, or that Alexander had sinned past forgiveness, no more to be prayed for. Wherefore seeing no scripture is of private interpretation, but must be expounded according to the general articles of our faith, and agreeable to other open and evident texts, and confirmed or compared to like sentences; why should we not understand these places with like reference as we do the other, namely when all the remnant of the epistle is so godly and of so great learning?

The first place in the vith chapter will no more than that they which know the truth, and yet willingly refuse the light, and choose rather to dwell in darkness, and refuse Christ, and make a mock of him (as the Pharisees, which when they were overcome with scripture and miracles, that Christ was the very Messias, yet had they such lust in iniquity, that they forsook him, persecuted him, slew him, and did all the shame that could be imagined to him) cannot be renewed, (*εἰς μετάνοιαν* saith the Greek,) to be converted: that is to say, such malicious unkindness, which is none other than the blaspheming of the Holy Ghost, deserveth that the Spirit shall never come more at them, to convert them: which I believe to be as true as any other text in all the scripture.

And what is meant by that place in the tenth chapter, where he saith, "If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin," is declared immediately after. For he maketh a comparison between Moses and Christ, saying: "If he which despised Moses' law died without mercy, how much worse punishment is he worthy of, that treadeth the Son of God under foot, and counteth the blood of the covenant, by which blood he was sanctified, as an unholy thing, and blasphemeth the Spirit of grace?" By which words it is manifest that he meaneth none other by the fore words, than the sin of blasphemy of the Spirit.

For them that sin of ignorance or infirmity, there is remedy; but for him that knoweth the truth, and yet willingly yieldeth himself to sin, and consenteth unto the life of sin, with soul and body, and had rather lie in sin than have his poisoned nature healed by the help of the Spirit of grace, and maliciously persecuteth the truth, for him, I say, there is no remedy; the way to mercy is locked up; and the Spirit is taken from him for his unthankfulness' sake, no more to be given to him. Truth it is, if a man can turn to God and believe in Christ, he must be forgiven, how deep soever he hath sinned; but that will not be without the Spirit, and such blasphemers shall no more have the Spirit offered them. Let every man therefore fear God, and beware that he yield not himself to serve sin; but how oft soever he sin, let him begin again, and fight afresh, and no doubt he shall at the last overcome, and in the meantime yet be under mercy for Christ's sake, because his heart worketh, and would fain be loosed from under the bondage of sin.

Mercy is  
locked up  
from him  
which wil-  
fully yieldeth  
his body and  
soul to sin.

And that it saith in the twelfth, Esau found no way (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*) to be converted and reconciled unto God, and restored unto his birth-right again, though he sought it with tears, that text must have a spiritual eye. For Esau in selling his birth-right despised not only that temporal promotion, that he should have been lord over all his brethren, and king of that country; but he also refused the grace and mercy of God, and the spiritual blessing of Abraham and Isaac, and all the mercy that is promised us in Christ, which should have been his seed.

Of this ye see that this epistle ought no more to be

refused for a holy, godly and catholic, than the other authentic scriptures.

No place in the scriptures so plainly describeth the significations and figures of the old Testament, as this epistle doth.  
W. T.

And now therefore, to come to our purpose again, though this epistle (as it saith in the sixth) lay not the ground of the faith of Christ, yet it buildeth cunningly thereon pure gold, silver, and precious stones; and proveth the priesthood of Christ with scriptures inevitable. Moreover, there is no work in all the scripture that so plainly declareth the meaning and significations of the sacrifices, ceremonies, and figures of the old Testament, as this epistle: insomuch that, if wilful blindness and malicious malice were not the cause, this epistle only were enough to weed out of the hearts of the papists that cankered heresy of justifying of works, concerning our sacraments, ceremonies, and all manner traditions of their own inventions.

This epistle, for that it agreeth with the rest of the scripture, ought to be of equal authority with the other.  
W. T.

And finally, in that ye see in the tenth, that he had been in bonds and in prison for Christ's sake, and in that he so mightily driveth all to Christ, to be saved through him, and so cared for the flock of Christ, that he both wrote and sent where he heard that they began to faint, to comfort, courage and strength them with the word of God, and in that also that he sent Timothy, Paul's disciple, both virtuous, well-learned, and had in great reverence; it is easy to see that he was a faithful servant of Christ, and of the same doctrine that Timothy was of, yea, and Paul himself was of, and that he was an apostle or in the apostles' time, or near thereunto. And seeing the epistle agreeth to all the rest of the scripture (if it be indifferently looked on), why should it not be authority, and taken for holy scripture?



## THE PROLOGUE

## UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST JAMES.

THOUGH this epistle were refused in the old time, and denied of many to be the epistle of a very apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation of the faith of Christ, but speaketh of a general faith in God, neither preacheth his death and resurrection, either the mercy that is laid up in store for us in him, or everlasting covenant made us in his blood, which is the office and duty of every apostle, as Christ saith, John xvth, "Ye shall testify of me;" yet, because it setteth up no man's doctrine, but crieth to keep the law of God, and maketh love, which is without partiality, the fulfilling of the law, as Christ and all the apostles did, and hath, thereto, many good and godly sentences in it, and hath also nothing that is not<sup>1</sup> agreeable to the rest of the scriptures, if it be looked indifferently on; methinketh it ought of right to be taken for holy scripture. For as for that place for which haply it was at the beginning refused of holy men, as it ought, if it had meant as they took it, and for which place only, for the false understanding, it hath been chiefly received of the papists; yet if the circumstances be well pondered, it will appear that the author's intent was far otherwise than they took him<sup>2</sup> for.

This epistle is to be taken as part of holy scripture.

The papists allege this text for their purpose, through misunderstanding the same. Ant. ed.

For where he saith in the second chapter, "Faith without deeds is dead in itself," he meaneth none other thing than all the scripture doth; how that faith, which bath no good deeds following, is a false faith, and not the faith that<sup>3</sup> justifieth, or receiveth forgiveness of sins. For God promiseth them only forgiveness of their sins, which turn to God to keep his laws. Wherefore they that purpose to continue

[<sup>1</sup> D. has omitted *not*, by an evident misprint. *Not* is in all the collated testaments.]

[<sup>2</sup> D. omits him.]

[<sup>3</sup> So edition of 1538, and edition of 1536. But Day and Antw. edition of 1534 have, *None of that faith justifieth.*]

Faith only  
justifieth.

still in sin, have no part in that promise; but deceive themselves if they believe that God hath forgiven them their old sins for Christ's sake. And after, when he saith that man is justified by deeds, and not of faith only, he will no more than that faith doth not so<sup>1</sup> justify every where, that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds also do justify. And as faith only justifieth before God, so do deeds only justify before the world: whereof is enough spoken, partly in the prologue on Paul to the Romans, and also in other places. For as Paul affirmeth (Rom. iv.) that Abraham was not justified by works before God, but by faith only, as Genesis beareth record; so will James, that deeds only justified him before the world, and faith wrought with his deeds; that is to say, faith, wherewith he was righteous before God in the heart, did cause him to work the will of God outwardly, whereby he was righteous before the world; and whereby the world perceived that he believed in God, loved and feared God. And as (Heb. xi.) the scripture affirmeth that Rahab was justified before God through faith, so doth James affirm that through works, by which she shewed her faith, she was justified before the world: and it is true.

[<sup>1</sup> All the Tests. have so; which is wanting in Day.]

## THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PETER.

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THIS epistle did St Peter write to the heathen that were converted; and exhorted them to stand fast in the faith, to grow therein, and wax perfect, through all manner of suffering, and also of good works.

In the first he declareth the justifying of faith through Christ's blood, and comforteth them with the hope of the life to come; and sheweth that we have not deserved it, but that the prophets prophesied it should be given us: and as Christ, which redeemed us out of sin and all uncleanness, is holy, so he exhorteth to lead an holy conversation; and, because we be richly bought and made heirs of a rich inheritance, to take heed that we lose it not again through our own negligence.

In the second chapter he sheweth that Christ is the foundation and head corner-stone, whereon all are built through faith, whether it be Jew or Gentile; and how that, in Christ, they are made priests to offer themselves to God, (as Christ did himself,) and to flee the lusts of the flesh, that fight against the soul. And first he teacheth them, in general, to obey the worldly rulers; and then in special, he teacheth the servants to obey their masters, be they good or bad, and to suffer wrong of them, as Christ suffered wrong for us.

Christ is all to a christian man.  
W. T.

In the third he teacheth the wives to obey their husbands, yea, though they be unbelievers; and to apparel themselves godly, and as it becometh holiness: and thereto, that the husbands suffer and bear the infirmity of their wives, and live according to knowledge with them: and then, in general, he exhorteth them to be soft, courteous, patient and friendly one to another, and to suffer for righteousness, after the ensample of Christ.

Men ought to rule their wives with God's word.  
Ant. ed.

In the fourth he exhorteth to fly sin, and to tame the flesh with soberness, watching, and prayer; and to love each other, and to know that all good gifts are of God; and every

To watch is not only to abstain from sleep, but also to avoid all occasions

that may  
draw us to  
sin.  
W. T.

man to help his neighbour with such as he hath received of God; and finally, not to wonder but to rejoyce, though they must suffer for Christ's name sake; seeing as they be here partakers of his afflictions, so shall they be partakers of his glory to come.

In the fifth he teacheth the bishops and priests how they should love and feed Christ's flock, and warneth us of the evil, which on every side lieth in wait for us.

## THE PROLOGUE

### UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PETER.

As God re-  
joiceth not  
in the deed  
itself, so doth  
he not in an  
idle faith  
without  
works.  
Ant. ed.  
Good works  
are a shew of  
our faith, as  
the fruit is of  
the tree.  
W. T.

THIS epistle was written against them which thought that christian faith might be idle and without works; when yet the promise of Christ is made us upon that condition, that we henceforth work the will of God, and not of the flesh. Therefore he exhorteth them to exercise themselves diligently in virtue and all good works, thereby to be sure that they have the true faith; as a man knoweth the goodness of a tree by his fruit. Then he commendeth and magnifieth the gospel; and willeth that men hearken to that only, and to men's doctrine not at all. For, as he saith, there came no propheticall scripture by the will of man, but by the will of the Holy Ghost, which only knoweth the will of God: neither is any scripture of private interpretation, that is to say, may be otherwise expounded than agreeing to the open places, and general articles, and to the covenants of God, and all the rest of the scripture<sup>1</sup>.

And therefore, in the second, he warneth them<sup>2</sup> of false teachers that should come, and through preaching confidence in false works, to satisfy their covetousness withal, should deny Christ: which he threateneth with three terrible

[<sup>1</sup> This last sentence is not in the Test. of 1538, but is in Day, and in the two Testaments of 1534 and 1536.]

[<sup>2</sup> Test. of 1538 has, *In the ii. ch. he warneth us.*]

examples ; with the fall of the angels, the flood of Noe, and overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah ; and so describeth them, with their insatiable covetousness, pride, stubbornness, and disobedience to all temporal rule and authority, [with their abominable whoredom, and hypocrisy, that a blind man may see that he prophesied it of the pope's holy spirituality, which devoured the whole world with their covetousness, living in all lust and pleasure, and reigning as temporal tyrants.]<sup>3</sup>

*He prophesied of the pope's spirituality. Ant. ed.*

In the third he sheweth that in the latter days the people, through unbelief and lack of fear of the judgment of the last day, shall be even as epicures, wholly given to the flesh : which last day shall yet surely and shortly come, saith he ; for a thousand years and one day is with God all one. And he sheweth also how terrible that day shall be, and how suddenly it shall come ; and therefore exhorteth all men to look earnestly for it, and to prepare themselves against it with holy conversation and godly living.

Finally, the first chapter sheweth how it should go in the time of the pure and true Gospel : the second, how it should go in the time of the pope's and men's doctrine : the third, how at the last men should believe nothing, nor fear God at all.

*The condition of the world shall wax worse and worse. Ant. ed.*

## THE PROLOGUE

### UPON THE THREE EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.

IN this first epistle of St John is contained the doctrine of a very apostle of Christ, and ought of right to follow his gospel. For as in his gospel he setteth out the true faith, and teacheth by it only all men to be saved, and restored

[<sup>3</sup> The passage between brackets is in the editions of 1534 and 1536, and in Day ; but was omitted in the edition of 1538.]

[<sup>4</sup> So Day and Test. of 1534. But Test. of 1538 has *antichrist* instead of *the pope*.]

Where a true  
faith is, there  
are also good  
works.  
W. T.

unto the favour of God again; even so here, in this epistle, he goeth against them that boast themselves of faith, and yet continue without good works; and teacheth many ways, that where true faith is, there the works tarry not behind; and contrary, that where the works follow not, there is no true faith, but a false imagination and utter darkness.

Christ's blood  
purchaseth  
forgiveness of  
sins, and not  
man's works.  
W. T.

And he writeth sore against a sect of heretics, which then began to deny that Christ was come in the flesh, and calleth them very antichrists; which sect goeth now in her full swing. For though they deny not openly, with the mouth, that Christ is come in the flesh, yet they deny it in the heart, with their doctrine and living. For he that will be justified and saved through his own works, the same doth as much as he that denied Christ to be come in flesh; seeing that Christ came only therefore in the flesh, that he should justify us, or purchase us pardon of our sins, bring us in the favour of God again, and make us heirs of eternal life with his works only, and with his blood-shedding, without and before all our works.

So fighteth this epistle both against them that will be saved by their own good works, and also against them that will be saved by a faith that hath no lust to do works at all, and keepeth us in the middle way, that we believe in Christ to be saved by his works only; and then to know that it is our duty, for that kindness, to prepare ourselves to do the commandment of God, and to love every man his neighbour, as Christ loved him; seeking with our own works God's honour and our neighbour's wealth only, and trusting for eternal life, and for all that God hath promised us, through Christ's deserving<sup>1</sup>.

The two last epistles, though they be short, yet are goodly ensamples of love and faith, and do savour of the spirit of a true apostle.

[<sup>1</sup> Day and Ant. Test. of 1534 have *for Christ's sake*. The other testaments as in the text.]

## A PROLOGUE

ON THE EPISTLE OF ST JUDE.

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As for the epistle of Judas, and though men have, and yet do doubt of the author, and though it seem also to be drawn out of the second epistle of St Peter, and thereto allegeth scripture that is nowhere found; yet, seeing the matter is so godly, and agreeing to other places of <sup>2</sup> holy scripture, I see not but that it ought to have the authority of holy scripture.

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## AN EXPOSITION

UPON CERTAIN WORDS AND PHRASES OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

---

*INFERNUS* and *Gehenna* differ much in signification, though we have none interpretation for either of them than this English word *Hell*: for *Gehenna* signifieth a place of punishment; but *Infernus* is taken for any manner of place beneath in the earth, as a grave, sepulchre, or cave.

*Hell*: it is called in Hebrew the valley of Hennon; a place by Jerusalem, where they burnt their children in fire unto the idol Moloch; and is usurped and taken now for a place where the wicked and ungodly shall be tormented, both soul and body, after the general judgment.

*Give room to the wrath of God.* (Rom. xii.) Wrath is there taken for vengeance: and the meaning is, Let God avenge, either by himself or by the officers that bear his room.

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[<sup>2</sup> So the Texts. Day wants *other places of*.]

*There tarry and abide till ye go out.* It is in Mark, the vi. chap. "Wheresoever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye go out thence." And, Luke ix. it is, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, there tarry and go not out thence:" that is to say, whosoever receiveth you, there abide as long as ye are in the city or town, and go not shamefully a begging from house to house, as friars do.

*Dust.* "Shake off the dust of your feet." (Matt. x.) Why are they commanded to shake off the dust? For a witness, saith Luke, that that deed may testify against them in the day of judgment, that the doctrine of salvation was offered for them, but they would not receive it. Ye see also that such gestures and ceremonies have greater power with them, than have bare words only, to move the heart and to stir up faith, as do the laying on of hands, and anointing with oil, &c.

*Hypocrites, can ye discern the face of heaven, and not discern the signs of the times?* That is to say, they could judge by the signs of the sky what weather should follow, but they could not know Christ by the signs of the scripture; and yet other signs might not be given them.

*He that saith he knoweth Christ and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar.* To know Christ is to believe in Christ: ergo, he that keepeth not the commandments, believeth not in Christ.

The end of such Prologues of the old Testament and new Testament as were made by Wilham Tyndale.



THE PROLOGUE TO  
THE  
EXPOSITION  
OF THE  
FIRST EPISTLE OF SAINT JOHN,

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

WHEN he had finished translating Jonah, Tyndale turned to exposition and produced a commentary on I John in September 1531 from the Keyser press in Antwerp. He believed that not only was it necessary to translate the Bible but also to interpret its true meaning. The exposition of I John is not generally considered among his best works, and in this volume we have given instead his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount as a specimen of his commentating.

The expositions of II and III John, sometimes attributed to Tyndale, are not his work. They are unknown to Vaughan and More, and are omitted in the Day edition, which Foxe edited. Their attribution to Tyndale seems to stem from Bishop Bale who was not known for his accuracy. Internal and external evidence make it most unlikely that they are from his pen. Tyndale himself speaks of interpreting *this* epistle, and the style and method of interpretation of II and III John are so inferior to his other work as to make it virtually certain that they are from another and lesser hand.

The letters PCL refer to an early edition of Tyndale's exposition in St Paul's Cathedral Library. The fly leaf is missing, but it is probably James Nicholson's 1538 edition. Day's edition is denoted by the letter D.]

## THE PROLOGUE.

† Except a man have the profession of his baptism in his heart,  
he cannot understand the scripture.

We must  
first learn  
the profession  
of our bap-  
tism.  
Ant. ed.

As a man can by no means read, except he be first taught the letters of the cross row, even so it is impossible for a man, of whatsoever degree or name he be of, to understand aught in the scripture unto the honour of God and health of his soul, except he be first taught the profession of his baptism, and have it also written in his heart.

The profes-  
sion of our  
baptism,  
what it is.

Which profession standeth in two things: the one is the knowledge of the law<sup>1</sup> of God, understanding it spiritually, as Christ expoundeth it Matt. v. vi. and vii. chapters, so that the root and life of all laws is<sup>2</sup> this: Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, all thy soul, and all thy might; and thy neighbour as thyself, for his sake: and that love only is the fulfilling of the law (as Paul teacheth); and that whatsoever deed we do, and not of that love, that same fulfilleth no law in the sight of God.

Gospel.

And the other is, to know the promises of mercy which are in our Saviour Christ; understanding them also purely without all leaven, after the mercifullest fashion as scripture expresseth<sup>3</sup> them, and after all fatherly love and kindness of God, unto all that repent toward the law, and believe in Christ.

All our sins  
for Jesus  
Christ's sake,  
and for his  
death and  
passion, are  
clearly for-  
given.  
Ant. ed.

And to have this profession written in thine heart is to consent unto the law that it is righteous and good, and to love it in thine heart, and to submit thyself thereunto for to learn it, and to rule and square all thy deeds thereby; and then to believe in Christ, that for his sake all thy sins, which thou diddest before the knowledge of this profession, are forgiven thee clearly, both a *pœna et culpa*<sup>4</sup>, to use the Romish<sup>5</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> So P. C. L., in D. the words of the law are wanting.]

[<sup>2</sup> So P. C. L., D. has *be*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *soundeth*.]

[<sup>4</sup> From the penalty and guilt.]

[<sup>5</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *pope's*.]

terms; and that for none other satisfaction to God-ward than Christ's blood; and even so, that all the sin which we do after this knowledge, either of chance, ignorance, infirmity, negligence, or provoked and overcome of the flesh, is forgiven us likewise, both *pœna et culpa*, through repentance and faith in Christ, without our satisfaction of works to God-ward.

Notwithstanding we, being all sons of one God, and servants of one Christ, must agree among ourselves; and he that hath offended must meekly knowlege his fault, and offer himself to make amends unto the utmost of his power; and if he have not wherewith, ask forgiveness for Christ's sake, and<sup>6</sup> the other is bound to forgive him. Neither, without reconciling himself unto his brother, may any man be at the first received unto the profession of Christ's faith, nor continue therein, nor be received in again, if he be for his open offences put thereout. For how can a man love his neighbour as well as himself, and be sorry that he hath hurt him, except he should offer himself to make amends?

And we must from henceforth walk in the life of penance, (if ye will have it so called,) and after the doctrine of Christ every man tame his flesh with prayer, fasting, and the continual meditations of Christ's penance and passions for us, and of the holy saints, and with such abstinence, and kind of living, as every man thinketh most meet for his complexion; the younger confessing their infirmities to the elder, discreeter, and better learned, and asking their advice and wholesome counsel for the repressing of their diseases; but all to tame the flesh, and to serve thy neighbour, without any superstitious mind.

But to God-ward is there no satisfaction, save faith in Christ's blood out of a repenting heart. For our outward deeds cannot be referred unto God, to do him service in his own person, and to help him, or make him better therewith. We can do no more with them, were they never so perfect, and done with all love, than satisfy the law for the present time, and do our duty unto our neighbours, and tame our own flesh; but not to make satisfaction to God for sin that is once past. The sin that is once committed must God forgive freely, of a fatherly love, for Christ's sake.

[<sup>6</sup> So P. C. L., in D. *and* is wanting.]

Every  
Christian  
man must  
reconcile  
himself unto  
his brother.  
Ant. ed.

The right  
penance is  
repentance  
of sin and  
amendment  
of life.  
Ant. ed.

All our life  
must tend  
to this end,  
to tame our  
flesh and  
serve our  
neighbour.  
Ant. ed.

Faith in  
Christ's  
blood, with a  
repentant  
heart, is the  
only satisfac-  
tion that we  
can make to-  
wards God.  
Ant. ed.

The father  
of love cor-  
recteth the  
child.  
Ant. ed.

When God visiteth us with sickness, poverty, or whatsoever adversity it be, he doth it not of a tyrannous mind, to satisfy his lust in our suffering of evil, to make satisfaction for the sin that is past, of which we repent and be sorry; but of a fatherly love, to make us know ourselves and feel his mercy, and to tame our<sup>1</sup> flesh, and to keep us from sinning again: as no natural father punisheth his child because he delighteth in tormenting of him, to take satisfaction for the sin that is past; but first teacheth kindly, and suffereth, and forgiveth once or twice; and then at the last, when he seeth the body so wanton, that the child cannot continue in the right way for the rage of wild lusts, he beateth him<sup>2</sup>, to subdue the flesh only, and to tame it, that the doctrine of the father may have her due course in the heart of the child, and should not be choked with lusts and concupiscences of our wicked nature<sup>3</sup>.

God as a  
loving fa-  
ther careth  
for us, and  
gently cor-  
recteth us to  
keep us in the  
right way.  
Ant. ed.

Even so is it of God: if any of his children, that have professed his law and the faith of our Saviour, be negligent to tame his flesh with prayer, fasting, and good deeds after the doctrine of Christ, he will surely scourge him, to bring him into the right way again, and to keep him, that the doctrine of his soul's health perish not in him. But he taketh not his mercy from us, nor thinketh on the sin that is past, after that we repent and be full converted; but absolveth us both a *pæna et culpa* for Christ's sake; and is as mighty and as merciful to do it for Christ's sake, as the bishop of Rome for money; besides that he hath promised mercifully so to do.

¶ The knowledge of our baptism is the key and the light of the scripture.

To under-  
stand our  
baptism is to  
understand  
the law and  
the gospel.  
Ant. ed.

And again, as he which knoweth his letters well, and can spell perfectly, cannot but read if he be diligent; and as he which hath clear eyes without impediment or let, and walketh thereto in the light and open day, cannot but see, if he attend and take heed; even so whosoever hath the profession of baptism written in his heart, cannot but understand the scripture, if he exercise himself therein, and compare one

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but P. C. L. has *the* instead of *our*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So P. C. L., in D. *him* is wanting.]

[<sup>3</sup> The last six words are in P. C. L., but not in D.]

place to another, and mark the manner of speech, and ask here and there the meaning of a sentence of them that be better exercised<sup>4</sup>.

For as the doctrine which we should be taught before we were baptized, and for lack of ago is deferred unto the years of discretion, is the key that bindeth and looseth, locketh and unlocketh, the conscience of all sinners; even so that lesson, where it is understood, is only the key that openeth all the scripture, and even the whole scripture in itself, gathered together in a narrow compass, and brought into a compendiousness. And till thou be taught that lesson, that thine heart feel the sweetness of it, the scripture is locked and shut up from thee, and so dark that thou couldest not understand it, though Peter, Paul, or Christ himself did expound it unto thee; no more than a blind man can see, though thou set a candle before him, or shewedst him the sun, or pointedst with thy finger unto that thou wouldest have him look upon.

The key and light of the scripture  
W. T.

How the scripture is locked up from our understanding.  
W. T.

Now we be all baptized; but, alas! not one, from the highest to the lowest, ever taught the profession or meaning thereof. And therefore we remain all blind generally, as well our great rabbins for all their high learning which they seem to have, as the lay people. Yea, and so much the more blind are our great clerks, that where the lay people, for a great number of them, are taught nothing<sup>5</sup> at all, they be all wrong taught, and the doctrine of their baptism is all corrupt unto them with the leaven of false glosses, ere they come to read the scripture; so that the light which they bring with them, to understand the scripture withal, is utter darkness, and as contrary unto the scripture as the devil unto Christ: by reason whereof the scripture is locked up and become so dark unto them, that they grope for the door, and can find no way in; and is become a maze unto them, in which they wander as in a mist, or (as we say) led by Robin Goodfellow, that they cannot come to the right way, no, though they turn their caps; and the brightness thereof hath blinded their eyes with malice, so that though they believe not the scripture to be false, yet they persecute the right understanding thereof, and cannot believe it true in the plain sense, which it speaketh

If we be not taught by God, we do but wander clean out of the way.  
W. T.

[<sup>4</sup> In P. C. L. the words *than he is* are added here.]

[<sup>5</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *naught*.]

to them in. It is become a turn-again lane unto them, which they cannot go through, nor make three lines agree together. And finally, the sentences of the scripture are nothing but very riddles unto them, at the which they cast as the blind man doth at the crow, and expound by guess, an hundred doctors an hundred ways; and one man in twenty sermons alleging one text after twenty fashions, having no sure doctrine to cleave unto; and all for lack of the right knowledge of the profession of our baptism.

¶ He that hath the profession of his baptism written in his heart can be no heretic.

He that understandeth the profession of his baptism can be no heretic. Ant. ed.

Another conclusion is this; as he which ever creepeth along by the ground, and never climbeth, cannot fall from on<sup>1</sup> high; even so no man, that hath the profession of his baptism written in his heart, can stumble in the scripture, and fall unto heresies, or become a maker of division and sects, and a defender of wild and vain opinions. For the whole and only cause of heresies and sects is pride. Now the law of God, truly interpreted, robbeth all them in whose hearts it is written, and maketh them as bare as Job, of all things whereof a man can or may<sup>2</sup> be moved to pride. And on the other side, they have utterly forsaken themselves, with all their high learning and wisdom, and are become the servants of Christ only, which hath bought them with his blood; and have promised in their hearts unfeignedly to follow him, and to take him only for the author of their religion, and his doctrine only for their wisdom and learning, and to maintain it in word and deed, and to<sup>3</sup> keep it pure, and to build no strange doctrine thereupon, and to be at the highest never, but fellow with their brethren, and in that fellowship to wax ever lower and lower, and every day more servant than another<sup>4</sup> unto his weaker brethren, after the example and image of Christ, and after his commandment and ordinance, and not in feigned words of the pope.

The scripture maketh no heretics. W. T.

This be<sup>5</sup> said because of them that say that the scripture maketh men heretics, and corrupteth with false opinions,

[<sup>1</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *an*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So P. C. L., but in D. *or may* is wanting.]

[<sup>3</sup> P. C. L. has *to*, but Day *so*.]

[<sup>4</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *other*.]

[<sup>5</sup> So P. C. L. : D. has *he said*.]

contrary unto the profession of their baptism; and the light wherewith they should expound the scripture is turned into darkness in their hearts, and the door of the scripture locked, and the wells stopped up ere they come at it.

And therefore, because their darkness cannot comprehend the light of scripture, as it is written, "The light shined in darkness, but the darkness could not comprehend it;" they turn it into blind riddles, and read it without understanding, as lay-men do our lady matins, or as it were Merlin's prophecies, having<sup>6</sup> ever their minds upon their heresies. And when they come to a place that soundeth like, there they wrest, and wring out wonderful expositions, to stablish their heresies withal<sup>7</sup>. Is it not a great blindness to say in the beginning of all together, that the whole scripture is false in the literal sense, and killeth the soul? Which pestilent heresy to prove, they abuse the text of Paul saying, "The letter killeth;" because that text was become a riddle unto them, and they understood it not: when Paul by this word *letter* understood the law given by Moses to condemn all consciences, and to rob them of all righteousness, to compel them unto the promises of mercy that are in Christ.

Heresy springeth not of the scripture, no more than darkness of the sun; but it<sup>8</sup> is a dark cloud that springeth out of the blind hearts of hypocrites, and covereth the face of the scripture, and blindeth their eyes, that they cannot behold the bright beams of the scripture.

The whole<sup>9</sup> sum then of all together is this: If our hearts were taught the appointment made between God and us in Christ's blood, when we were baptized, we had the key to open the scripture, and light to see and perceive the true meaning of it, and the scripture should be easy to understand. And because we be not taught that profession, is the cause why the scripture is so dark, and so far passing our capacity. And the cause why our expositions are heresies, is because we be wrong taught, and corrupt with false opinions beforehand, and made heretics ere we come at the scripture, and have

[<sup>6</sup> So P. C. L., but D. wants *having*, and has *are* after minds.]

[<sup>7</sup> In D. Tyndale's last remark is followed by a jocular illustration, for which there is no authority in the older edition.]

[<sup>8</sup> So P. C. L.: in D. it is wanting.]

[<sup>9</sup> So P. C. L., but D. interposes *and*.]

John 1.

If God lighten  
not our  
hearts, we  
read the  
scripture in  
vain.  
Ant. ed.

The law con-  
demneth, to  
drive us to  
faith in  
Christ's  
death.  
Ant. ed.

Heresy  
springeth  
out of the  
hearts of  
hypocrites.  
Ant. ed.

He that is  
sound in faith  
shall easily  
attain to the  
true sense of  
the scripture.  
Ant. ed.

Tim. iii.

The papists'  
unwritten  
verities are  
not to be  
credited.  
Ant. ed.

corrupt it, and it not us; as the taste of the sick maketh wholesome and well-seasoned meat bitter, wearish, and unsavoury. Nevertheless yet the scripture abideth pure in herself and bright, so that he which is sound in the faith shall at once perceive that the judgment of the heretics is corrupt in their expositions, as an whole man doth feel at once, even with smelling to the meat, that the taste of the sick is infected. And with the scripture shall they ever improve heresies and false expositions: for the scripture purgeth herself, even as the water once in the year casteth all filthiness unto the sides of it<sup>1</sup>. Which to be true ye see by the authority of Paul, saying, "All the scripture was given of God by inspiration, and is good to teach withal, to improve," and so forth; and by the example of Christ and the apostles, how they confounded the Jews with the same scripture which they had corrupt, and understood them amiss after their own darkness; and as ye see by the example of us now also, how we have manifestly improved the hypocrites in an hundred texts which they had corrupt to prove their false opinion brought in besides the scripture, and have driven them off; and they be fled, and openly confess unto their shame, that they have no scripture, and sing another song, and say they received them by the mouth of the apostles. Unto which stopping of theirs<sup>2</sup>, I answer here grossly, seeing they are answered before; that as he were a fool, which would trust him to tell his money in his absence, that hath picked his purse before his face; even so, sith ye have corrupt the open scripture before our eyes, and are<sup>3</sup> taken with the maner<sup>4</sup>, that ye cannot deny, we

[<sup>1</sup> So P. C. L. edition: D. wants *of it*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So P. C. L., but D. has *oyster* instead of *of theirs*.]

[<sup>3</sup> So P. C. L., but D. wants *are*.]

[<sup>4</sup> In Numbers v. 13, our authorised version has introduced the words 'with the manner,' in italics, to fill out the brief Hebrew expression 'she be taken.' Todd observes (Johnson's Dictionary), that in our old law-books *manner* is written *mainour* in this phrase, from the French *manier*, to seize with the hand. He adds that in our old Norman statutes it is written according to some, 'Pris ove manour,' and explained, 'taken with the goods in the hand.' But Burn, enlarging on 3 Ed. I. c. 15, says, 'Taken with the mainer, i. e. with the thing stolen, as it were, in his hand.' Burn's Justice, vol. 1. p. 138. In Day's edition of Tyndale it is spelt *maner*; but so also is the word *manner*, when used in its ordinary sense.]



were mad to believe that which hath lien fifteen hundred years, as ye say, in your rotten maws, should now be wholesome for us; ye have chewed and mingled it with your poison spittle. Can ye bear us in hand, and persuade us, think ye, with your sophistry, to believe that ye should minister your secret traditions without ground truly, when we see you minister the open scripture falsely? Can ye bewitch our wits with your poetry, to helieve that ye should minister your secret traditions for our profit, when we see you corrupt the open scripture to the loss of our souls for your profit? Nay, it is an hundred times more likely that ye should be falscr in secret things than in open. And therefore in the very sacraments, which the scripture testifieth that Christ himself ordained them, we must have an eye unto your hand, how ye minister them. And as we restore the scripture unto her right understanding from your false glosses, even so deliver we the sacraments and ceremonies unto their right use from your abuse. And that must we do with the scripture; which can corrupt no man that cometh thereto with a meek spirit, seeking there only to fashion himself like Christ, according to the profession and vow of our baptism: but contrariwise, he shall there find the mighty power of God, to alter him, and change him in the inner man, a little and little in process, until he be full shapen after the image of our Saviour, in knowledge, and love of all truth, and power to work thereafter.

The papists have corrupted the scripture, and abused the sacraments. Ant. ed.

Finally then, forasmuch as the scripture is the light and life of God's elect, and that mighty power wherewith God createth them, and shapeth them, after the similitude, likeness, and very fashion of Christ; and therefore sustenance, comfort, and strength to courage them, that they may stand fast, and endure, and merrily bear their souls' health, wherewith the lusts of the flesh are<sup>6</sup> subdued and killed, and the spirit mollified and made soft, to receive the print of the image of our Saviour Jesus: and forasmuch<sup>6</sup> as the scripture is so pure of itself, that it can corrupt no man, but the wicked only, which are infect beforehand, and, ere they come at it, corrupt it with the heresies that<sup>7</sup> they bring with them:

The scripture is the life of God's elect. Ant. ed.

[<sup>6</sup> So P. C. L., but D. wants *are*.]

[<sup>6</sup> So P. C. L., but D. wants *for*.]

[<sup>7</sup> So P. C. L., but D. wants *that*.]

Hypocrites  
say that the  
scripture  
maketh  
heretics.  
Ant. ed.

and forasmuch as the complaint of the hypocrites, that the scripture maketh heretics, is vain and feigned; and the reasons wherewith they would prove that the lay people ought not to read the scripture, are<sup>1</sup> false, wicked, and the fruit of rotten trees: therefore are they faithful servants of Christ, and faithful ministers and dispensers of his doctrine, and true-hearted toward their brethren, which have given themselves up into the hand of God, and put themselves in jeopardy of all persecution, their very life despised, and have translated the scripture purely and with good conscience, submitting themselves, and desiring them that can to amend their translation, or (if it please them) to translate it themselves after their best manner, yea, and let them sew to their glosses, as many as they think they can make cleave thereto, and then put other men's translation out of the way.

The translation of the scripture is not sufficient only, but it must be well taught, that the people may have the true sense.  
Ant. ed.

Howbeit, though God hath so wrought with them that a great part is translated; yet, as it is not enough that the father and the mother have both begotten the child and brought it into this world, except they care for it and bring it up, till it can help itself; even so it is not enough to have translated, though it were the whole scripture into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also brought again the light to understand it by, and expel that dark cloud which the hypocrites have spread over the face of the scripture, to blind the right sense and true meaning thereof. And therefore are there<sup>2</sup> divers introductions ordained for you, to teach you the profession of your baptism, the only light of the scripture; one upon the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and another called "The Pathway into the Scripture." And for the same cause have I taken in hand to interpret this epistle of St John the evangelist to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture, and what to seek therein; and that he may have to answer the hypocrites, and to stop their mouths withal.

Introductions made to bring you to the true understanding of the scripture.  
Ant. ed.

And first, understand that all the epistles that the apostles wrote are the gospel of Christ, though all that is the gospel be not an epistle. It is called a gospel, that is to say, glad tidings, because it is an open preaching of Christ; and an epistle, because it is sent as a letter, or a bill, to them that are absent.

[<sup>1</sup> P. C. L. has *is*.]

[<sup>2</sup> So P. C. L. Day has *at their*.]

III.

EXPOSITION

UPON THE

FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS

OF

MATTHEW.

## [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

THIS work is usually dated to the year 1532, but if so, it cannot have appeared before the last months of the year, because Tyndale uses Luther's exposition, which had been described in October as one of the novelties of the year. Perhaps it is to be dated early the following year. Tyndale did use Luther, but he was certainly no slavish imitator of the German, and added many of his own comments.

The text that follows is based on a comparison of Day's 1573 edition and an earlier copy in Lambeth Library, which Dr Maitland thought might be a first edition. The peculiar readings of the former are denoted by the letter D, and of the latter by the letter L. The initials W. T. indicate that the marginal notes thus marked appear in the Lambeth edition, and are the work of Tyndale, whereas the others were probably added by Foxe, Day's editor.

Miss M. E. Kronenberg, the bibliographical expert, maintains that the original was printed by John Grapheus of Antwerp.]

# ¶ AN EXPOSITION UPON THE V. VI. VII. CHAPTERS OF MATHEW,

WHICH THREE CHAPTERS ARE THE KEYE AND THE DORE OF THE SCRIPTURE,  
AND THE RESTORING AGAYNE OF MOSES LAW CORRUPTED BY THE  
SCRIBES AND PHARISES. AND THE EXPOSITION IS  
THE RESTORING AGAYNE OF CHRISTES LAWE  
CORRUPTED BY THE PAPISTES.

¶ Item before the booke, thou hast a Prologe very necessarie, contain-  
ing the whole summe of the couenaunt made betwene God and  
us, upon which we be baptised to keepe it.

Set forth by William Tyndall<sup>1</sup>.

## THE PROLOGUE.

HERE hast thou, dear reader, an exposition upon the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew, wherein Christ, our spiritual Isaac, diggeth again the wells of Abraham: which wells the scribes and Pharisees, those wicked and spiteful Philistines, had stopped and filled up with the earth of their false expositions. He openeth the kingdom of heaven, which they had shut up that other men should not enter, as they themselves had no lust to go in. He restoreth the key of knowledge, which they had taken away, and broken the wards, with wresting the text, contrary to his due and natural course, with their false glosses. He plucketh away from the face of Moses the veil which the scribes and Pharisees had spread thereon, that no man might perceive the brightness of his countenance. He weedeth out the thorns and bushes of their pharisaical glosses, wherewith they had stopped up the narrow way and strait gate, that few could find them.

The wells of Abraham are the scripture. And the scripture may well be called the kingdom of heaven, which is eternal life, and nothing save the knowledge of God the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ. Moses' face is the law, in her right understanding; and the law in her right understanding is the key, or at the least way the first and principal key, to open the door of the scripture. And the law is the very way that bringeth unto the door Christ, as it is written, Gal. iii. "The

To dig the wells of Abraham is to open and make plain the scripture, which is the kingdom of God.

Abraham's wells. W. T.  
The kingdom of heaven, what it is. W. T.  
John xvii. Moses' face. The key, what it is. W. T.

The law is the way that leadeth to Christ. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Such is the title placed at the head of this Exposition in Day.]

Gal. iii. law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith." And "the end of the law," that is to say, the thing, or cause why the law was given, "is Christ, to justify all that believe!" that is to say, the law was given to prove us unrighteous, and to drive us to Christ, to be made righteous through forgiveness of sin by him. The law was given to make the sin known, saith St Paul, and that sin committed under the law might be the more sinful. The law is that thing which Paul in his inward man granted to be good, but was yet compelled oftentimes of his members to do those things which that good law condemned for evil.

The law uttereth<sup>2</sup> sin, condemneth our deeds, and driveth us to Christ. W. T.

The law maketh no man to love the law, or less to do or commit sin; but gendereth more lust, and increaseth sin. For I cannot but hate the law, inasmuch as I find no power to do it; and it nevertheless condemneth me, because I do it not.

Rom. v. The law setteth not at one with God, but causeth wrath.

Rom. iv. "The law was given by Moses, but grace and verity by Jesus Christ." Behold, though Moses gave the law, yet he gave no man grace to do it, or to understand it aright; or wrote it in any man's heart, to consent that it was good, and to wish after power to fulfil it. But Christ giveth grace to do it, and to understand it aright; and writeth it with his holy Spirit in the tables of the hearts of men; and maketh it a true thing there, and no<sup>3</sup> hypocrisy.

The brasen serpent. W. T. Numb. xxi.

The law, truly understood, is those fiery serpents that stung the children of Israel with present death. But Christ is the brasen serpent; on whom whosoever, being stung with conscience of sin, looketh with a sure faith, is healed immediately of that stinging, and saved from the pains and sorrows of hell.

The law and faith be of contrary operations. W. T.

It is one thing to condemn, and pronounce the sentence of death, and to sting the conscience with fear of everlasting pain: and it is another thing to justify from sin; that is to say, to forgive and remit sin, and to heal the conscience, and certify a man, not only that he is delivered from eternal death, but also that he is made a son of God and heir of everlasting life. The first is the office of the law: the second pertaineth unto Christ only, through faith.

The scripture, how it is locked up. W. T.

Now if thou give the law a false gloss, and say that the

[<sup>1</sup> So Tyndale's Translation.]

[<sup>2</sup> That is, detects.]

[<sup>3</sup> L. *no*; but D. *none*.]

law is a thing which a man may do of his own strength, even out of the power of his free-will; and that by the deeds of the law thou mayest deserve forgiveness of thy fore<sup>4</sup> sins; then died Christ in vain, and is made almost of no stead, seeing thou Gal. ii. art become thine own saviour. Neither can Christ (where that gloss is admitted) be otherwise taken or esteemed of christian men, for all his passion and promises made to us in his blood, than he is of the Turks: how that he was a holy prophet, and that he prayeth for us as other saints do; save that we Christians think that he is somewhat more in favour than other saints he (though we imagine him so proud, that he will not hear us but through his mild mother and other holy saints, which all we count much more meek and merciful than he, but him most of might), and that he hath also an higher place in heaven, as the Grey friars and Observants set him, as it were from the chin upward, above St Francis.

And so, when by this false interpretation of the law Christ, Christ is the door, the way, and foundation of all the scriptures. which is the door, the way, and the ground or foundation of all the scripture, is lost concerning the chieftest fruit of his passion, and no more seen in his own likeness; then is the scripture locked up, and henceforth extreme darkness, and a maze, wherein if thou walk, thou wottest neither where thou art, nor canst find any way out. It is a confused chaos, and a mingling of all things together without order, every thing contrary to another. It is an hedge or grove of briars, wherein if thou be caught, it is impossible to get out, but that if thou loose thyself in one place, thou art tangled and caught in another for it.

This wise was the scripture locked up of the scribes and Pharisees, that the Jews could not see Christ when he came, nor yet can. And though Christ with these three chapters did open it again; yet by such glosses (for our unthankfulness' sake, that we had no lust to live according) have we Christians lost Christ again, and the understanding of the most clear text, wherewith Christ expoundeth and restoreth the law again. For the hypocrites, whatsoever seemeth impossible to their corrupt nature, unrenewed in Christ, that they cover over with the mist of their glosses, that the light thereof should not be seen. As they have interpreted here the words of Christ, wherewith he restoreth the law again, to be but good

When by glosses of our own imagination we darken the clear text of God's word, then is the scripture locked up from us.

[<sup>4</sup> Fore, i. e. previous.]

Christ used  
no temporal  
regiment.  
W. T.

counsels only, but no precepts that bind the consciences. And thereto they have so ruffled and tangled the temporal and spiritual regiment together, and made thereof such confusion, that no man can know the one from the other: to the intent that they would seem to have both by the authority of Christ, which never usurped temporal regiment unto him.

Notwithstanding, most dear reader, if thou read this exposition with a good heart, only to know the truth, for the amending chiefly of thine own living, and then of other men's (as charity requireth where an occasion is given); then shalt thou perceive their falsehood<sup>1</sup>, and see their mist expelled with the brightness of the inevitable truth.

Christ is a  
gift given  
only to them  
that love the  
law, and  
profess it.  
W. T.

Another conclusion is this: all the good promises which are made us throughout all the scripture, for Christ's sake, for his love, his passion or suffering, his blood-shedding or death, are all made us on this condition and covenant on our party, that we henceforth love the law of God, to walk therein, and to do it, and fashion our lives thereafter: insomuch that whosoever hath not the law of God written in his heart, that he love it, have his lust in it, and record therein night and day, understanding it as God hath given it, and as Christ and the apostles expound it, the same hath no part in the promises, nor can have any true faith in the blood of Christ; because there is no promise made him, but to them only that promise to keep the law.

He that  
professeth  
not the law,  
hath no part  
in the  
promises.  
W. T.

Works do  
not justify.  
W. T.

Thou wilt haply say to me again, If I cannot have my sins forgiven except I love the law, and of love endeavour myself to keep it; then the keeping of the law justifieth me. I answer that the argument is false, and but blind sophistry, and like unto this argument: I cannot have forgiveness of my sin except I have sinned; ergo, to have sinned is the forgiveness of sins. And it is like to this also: no man can be healed of the plague but he that hath it; ergo, to have the plague doth heal the plague.

Matt. xix.

Rom. ii.

2 Cor. v.

And like sophistry are these arguments: If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments; ergo, the deeds of the law justify us. Item, "The hearers of the law are not righteous in the sight of God, but the doers of the law shall be justified;" ergo, the deeds of the law justify from sin. And again: "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. falshepe.]



Christ, to receive every man according to the deeds which he did in the body ;" ergo, the law, or the deeds of the law, justify.

These, and all such, are naughty<sup>2</sup> arguments. For ye see that the king pardoneth no murderer but on a condition, that he henceforth keep the law, and do no more so ; and yet ye know well enough that he is saved by grace, favour, and pardon, ere the keeping of the law come : howbeit, if he break the law afterward, he falleth again into the same danger of death.

Even so, none of us can be received to grace but upon a condition to keep the law, neither yet continue any longer in grace than that purpose lasteth. And if we break the law, we must sue for a new pardon ; and have a new fight against sin, hell, and desperation, ere we can come to a quiet faith again, and feel that the sin is forgiven. Neither can there be in thee a stable and an undoubted faith that thy sin is forgiven thee, except there be also a lusty courage in thine heart, and a trust that thou wilt sin no more ; for on that condition, that thou endeavour thyself to sin no more, is the promise of mercy and forgiveness made unto thee.

And as thy love to the law increaseth, so doth thy faith in Christ ; and so doth thine hope and longing for the life to come. And as thy love is cold, so is thy faith weak ; and thine hope, and longing for the life to come, little. And where no love to the law is, there is neither faith in Christ for the forgiveness of sin, nor longing for the life to come ; but instead of faith a wicked imagination, that God is so unrighteous that he is not offended with sin ; and instead of hope a desire to live for ever here, and a greediness of worldly voluptuousness.

And unto all such is the scripture locked up, and made impossible to understand. They may read it, and rehearse the stories thereof, and dispute of it, as the Turks may ; and as we may of the Turks' law. And they may suck pride, hypocrisy, and all manner of poison there-out, to slay their own souls, and to put stumbling-blocks in other men's ways, to thrust them from the truth ; and<sup>3</sup> get such learning therein as in Aristotle's Ethics and Moral philosophy, and in the precepts of old philosophers. But it is impossible for them

[<sup>2</sup> That is, worth nought.]

[<sup>3</sup> L. to get.]

to apply one sentence thereof to their soul's health, or<sup>1</sup> to fashion their lives thereby for to please God; or to make them love the law, or understand it; either to feel the power of Christ's death, and might of his resurrection, and the sweetness of the life to come: so that they ever remain carnal and fleshly; as thou hast an ensample of the scribes, Pharisees, and Jews, in the new Testament.

Care.

How God  
careth for  
the weak.  
W. T.

Rom. xv.

Gal. vi.  
By bearing  
each others'  
weakness we  
fulfil the law  
of Christ.

Rulers, why  
they were  
ordained.  
W. T.

Why God  
scourgeth  
his  
W. T.

Another conclusion is this: of them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and love the law, are a thousand degrees and not so few, one perfecter or weaker than another; of which a great sort are so feeble, that they can neither go forward in their profession and purpose, nor yet stand, except they be holpen and borne of their stronger brethren, and tended as young children are by the care of their fathers and mothers. And therefore doth God command the elder to care for the younger: as Paul teacheth, saying, "We that be stronger ought to bear the feebleness of the weaker;" and, "Brethren, if any man be caught in any fault, ye that be spiritual," and are grown in knowledge, and have gotten the victory of your flesh, "teach such with the spirit of softness," not calling them heretics at the first chop, and threatening them with fire and fagots: but, *alter alterius onera portate* (saith he), and *sic adimplebitis legem Christi*; that is to say, "Bear each other's burden, and so shall ye fulfil the law of Christ." Even so verily shall ye fulfil the law of Christ; and not with smiting your brethren, and putting stumbling-blocks before their weak feet, and killing their consciences, and making them more afraid of shadows and bugs than to break their Father's commandments, and to trust in words of wind and vanity more than in their Father's promise. And for their sakes also he hath ordained rulers, both spiritual and temporal, to teach them and exhort them; to warn them, and to keep occasions from them, that with custom of sin they fall not from their profession.

Now when they that take upon them to be the elder brethren are become hypocrites, and turned to wily foxes and cruel wolves and fierce lions, and the officers be waxen evil and servants to mammon, ministering their offices for their own lucre only, and not for the profit of their brethren, but favouring all vices whereby they may have a vantage;

[<sup>1</sup> So L., but D. has *for*.]

then is God compelled, of his fatherly pity, to scourge his weak himself, with poverty, oppression, wrong, loss, danger, and with a thousand manner of diseases, to bring them again, if they be fallen, and to keep their hearts fast to their profession. So that *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*: they that love God, that is to say, the law of God Rom. viii. (for that is to love God), unto them God turneth all to the best; and scourgeth them with the lusts of their own weakness, to their own salvation.

Another conclusion is this: God receiveth both perfect and weak in like grace, for Christ's sake, as a father receiveth all his children, both small and great, in like love. He receiveth them to be his sons, and maketh a covenant with them, to bear their weakness for Christ's sake, till they be waxen stronger; and how often soever they fall, yet to forgive them if they will turn again; and never to cast off any, till he yield himself to sin, and take sin's part, and for affection and lust to sin fight against his own profession to destroy it. And he correcteth and chastiseth his children ever at home, with the rod of mercy and love, to make them better; but he bringeth them not forth, to be judged after the condemnation of the law. The conditions of the covenant. W. T.

Another conclusion is this: every man is two men, flesh and spirit; which so fight perpetually one against another, that a man must go either back or forward, and cannot stand long in one state. If the spirit overcome the temptation, then is she stronger, and the flesh weaker. But and if the flesh get a custom, then is the spirit none otherwise oppressed of the flesh, than as though she had a mountain upon her back: and as we sometime in our dreams think we bear heavier than a millstone on our breasts; or when we dream, now and then, that we would run away for fear, our legs seem heavier than lead; even so is the spirit oppressed and overladen of the flesh through custom, that she struggleth and striveth to get up and break loose in vain; until the God of mercy, which heareth her groan through Jesus Christ, come and loose her with his power, and put his cross of tribulation on the back of the flesh, to keep her down, to minish her strength and to mortify her. Flesh and spirit. W. T.

Wherefore every man must have his cross to nail his flesh to, for the mortifying of her. Now, if thou be not strong cross. W. T.

Evil lusts and  
affections are  
to be purged  
with the  
cross of  
Christ.

Eph. v

To sin under  
grace, and to  
sin under the  
law. W. T.

Lambs.

Swine.

Dogs. W. T.

Swine have  
no faith.  
W. T.

Dogs love not  
the law.  
W. T.

enough, and discreet thereto, to take up thy cross thyself, and to tame thy flesh with prayer and fasting, watching, deeds of mercy, holy meditations and reading the scripture, and with bodily labour, and in withdrawing all manner of pleasures from the flesh, and with exercises contrary to the vices which thou markest thy body most inclined to, and with abstaining from all that courage the flesh against the spirit; as reading of wanton books, wanton communication, foolish jesting and effeminate thoughts, and talking of covetousness (which Paul forbiddeth), and magnifying of worldly promotions; and takest, I say, up such a cross by thine ownself, or by the counsel of other that are better learned and exercised than thou; then must God put his cross of adversity upon thee. For we must have every man his cross in this world; or be damned with the world.

Of this ye see the difference between the sin of them that believe in the blood of Christ for the remission of sin, and consent and submit themselves unto the law, and the sin of them that yield themselves unto sin, to serve it, &c. The first sin under grace; and their sins are venial, that is to say, forgivable. The other sin under the law, and under the damnation of the law, and fight (for a great part of them) against grace and against the Spirit of grace, and against the law of God and faith of Christ, and corrupt the text of the covenant with false glosses, and are disobedient to God, and therefore sin deadly.

Of this also ye see the difference between the lambs of true believers; and between the unclean swine, that follow carnal lusts and fleshly liberty; and the churlish and hypocritical dogs, which, for the blind zeal of their own righteousness, persecute the righteousness of the faith in Christ's blood. The effeminate and careless swine, which continue in their fleshliness, and cease not to wallow themselves in their old puddle, think that they believe very well in Christ's blood; but they are deceived; as thou mayest clearly perceive, because they fear not the damnation of evil works, nor love the law of good works, and therefore have no part in the promise.

The cruel and doggish hypocrites, which take upon them to work, think they love the law; which yet they never saw, save under a veil. But they be deceived; as thou mayest perceive, by that they believe not in Christ for the forgive-

ness of sin. Whereby also (I mean that they believe not) thou mayest perceive that they understand not the law: for if they understood the law, it would either drive them to Christ, or make them despair immediately.

But the true believers behold the law in her own likeness, True faith is coupled with love to the law. W. T. and see the impossibility thereof to be fulfilled with natural power; and therefore flee to Christ for mercy, grace, and power; and then, of a very thankfulness for the mercy received, love the law in her own likeness, and submit themselves to learn it and to profit therein, and to do to-morrow that they cannot do to-day.

Ye see also the difference of all manner of faiths. The The difference of faiths, and how it is to be understood faith justifieth. W. T. faith of the true believers is, that God justifieth or forgiveth; and Christ deserveth it; and the faith or trust in Christ's blood receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof, and saveth and delivereth her from fear of death and damnation. And this is that we mean, when we say faith justifieth: that faith (I mean in Christ, and not in our own works) certifieth the conscience that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's blood's sake.

But the faith of hypocrites is, that God forgiveth, and works deserve it: and that same false faith, in their own Faith of hypocrites. W. T. works, receiveth the mercy promised to the merits of their own works; and so Christ is utterly excluded.

And thus ye see that faith is the thing that is affirmed to justify, of all parties. For faith in Christ's blood (which is God's promise) quieteth the conscience of the true believers: and a false faith, or trust in works (which is their own feigning), beguileth the blind hypocrites for a season; till God for the greatness of their sin, when it is full, openeth their eyes, and then they despair. But the swine say, God is so good that he will save devils and all; and damn no man perpetually, whatsoever he do. Faith of swine. W. T.

Another conclusion is this: to believe in Christ for the remission of sins, and, of a thankfulness for that mercy, to love the law truly: that is to say, to love God that is the Father of all and giveth all; and Jesus Christ, that is Lord of us all, and bought us all, with all our hearts, souls, power, and might; and our brethren for our Father's sake (because they be created after his image), and for our Lord and master Christ's sake, because they be the price of his blood; and to

The right  
baptism.  
W. T.

long for the life to come, because this life cannot be led without sin. These three points (I say) are the profession and religion of a christian man, and the inward baptism of the heart, signified by the outward washing of the body. And they be that spiritual character, badge, or sign, wherewith God, through his Spirit, marketh all his immediately and as soon as they be joined to Christ, and made members of his church by true faith.

The church  
of Christ.  
W. T.

The church of Christ, then, is the multitude of all them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin; and, of a thankfulness for that mercy, love the law of God purely and without glosses; and, of hate they have to the sin of this world, long for the life to come. This is the church that cannot err damnably; nor any long time; nor all of them: but as soon as any question ariseth, the truth of God's promise stirreth up one or other to teach them the truth of every thing needful to salvation out of God's word; and lighteneth the hearts of the other true members, to see the same, and to consent thereto.

Whosoever  
derogate any  
thing from  
the faith of  
Christ are  
not of the  
church.

And as all they that have their hearts washed with this inward baptism of the Spirit are of the church, and have the keys of the scripture, yea, and of binding and loosing, and do not err; even so they that sin of purpose, and will not hear when their faults be told them, but seek liberties and privileges to sin unpunished, and gloss out the law of God, and maintain ceremonies, traditions and customs, to destroy the faith of Christ, the same be members of Satan, and all their doctrine is poison, error and darkness; yea, though they be popes, bishops, abbots, curates, and doctors of divinity, and though they can rehearse all the scripture without book, and though they be seen in Greeck, Hebrew, and Latin: yea, and though they so preach Christ and the passion of Christ, that they make the poor women weep and howl again.

They that  
have not the  
law written  
in their  
hearts cannot  
understand  
the passion of  
Christ to  
salvation.  
W. T.

For when they come to the point, that they should minister Christ's passion unto the salvation of our souls, there they poison altogether and gloss out the law, that should make us feel our salvation in Christ, and drive us in that point from Christ, and teach us to put our trust in our own works for the remission and satisfaction of our sins, and in the apish play of hypocrites, which sell their merits instead of Christ's blood and passion.

Lo, now, dear reader, to believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sin, and purchasing of all the good promises that help to the life to come; and to love the law; and to long for the life to come, is the inward baptism of the soul, the baptism that only availeth in the sight of God; the new generation and image of Christ; the only key also to hind and loose sinners; the touchstone to try all doctrines; the lantern and light that scattereth and expelleth the mist and darkness of all hypocrisy, and a preservative against all error and heresy; the mother of all good works; the earnest of everlasting life, and title whereby we challenge our inheritance.

A short repeating.  
W. T.

What the inward baptism of the soul is.

And though faith in Christ's blood make the marriage between our soul and Christ, and is properly the marriage garment; yea, and the sign Thau, that defendeth us from the smiting and power of the evil angels<sup>1</sup>; and is also the rock whereon Christ's church is built, and whereon all that is built standeth against all weather of wind and tempests; yet might the profession of the faith in Christ's blood, and of the love to the law, and longing for the life to come, be called all these things, were malice and froward understanding away; because that where one of them is, there will be all three; and where all are not, there is none of them. And because that the one is known by the other, it is impossible to know any of them truly, and not be deceived, but in respect and comparison of the other.

Thau. W. T.

Faith, hope, and charity, are inseparable. W. T.

For if thou wilt be sure that thy faith be perfect, then examine thyself whether thou love the law. And in like manner, if thou wilt know whether thou love the law aright,

Faith, hope, and charity are known one by the other. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Tyndale alludes to Ezekiel ix. 4—6, where the Latin, of the Vulgate translation, makes the Lord say, "Put the sign of Thau on the foreheads of the men." The Hebrew verb means *setting a sign*, or *marking*; and the substantive formed from it, *ṭā*, signifies *a sign*, or *mark*, and is also used as the name of the letter *ṭ*, Thau, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Hence Jerome, copying the Hebrew substantive in Roman letters, translates, *Signa Thau*, where the Septuagint renders, *ὡς σημεῖον*, and our authorised version, 'Set a mark.' Unhappily, too, though neither the Hebrew nor the Samaritan characters for Thau bear any resemblance to a cross, the Greek and Roman character for the corresponding letter, T, obviously has a resemblance to it; so that the text, as read by the Romanists in their Vulgate, conveys the idea of the outward sign of the cross having a defensive power in it.]

then examine thyself whether thou believe in Christ only for the remission of sin, and obtaining the promises made in the scripture. And even so, compare thy hope of the life to come unto faith and love, and to hating the sin of this life; which hate the love to the law engendereth in thee. And if they accompany not one another, all three together, then be sure that all is but hypocrisy.

The office of  
faith. W. T.

If you say, Seeing faith, love, and hope, be three virtues inseparable; ergo, faith only justifieth not: I answer, though they be inseparable, yet they have separable and sundry offices; as it is above said of the law and faith. Faith only, which is a sure and an undoubted trust in Christ, and in the Father through him, certifieth the conscience that the sin is forgiven, and the damnation and impossibility of the law taken away, as it is above rehearsed in the conditions of the covenant; and with such persuasions mollifieth the heart, and maketh her love God again and his law. And as oft as we sin, faith only keepeth that we forsake not our profession, and that love utterly quench not, and hope fail; and only maketh the peace again. For a true believer trusteth in Christ only, and not in his own works, or aught else, for the remission of sin.

The office of  
love. W. T.

And the office of love is to pour out again the same goodness that she hath received of God upon her neighbour, and to be to him as she feeleth Christ to herself. The office of love only is to have compassion, and to bear with her neighbour the burden of his infirmities; and, as it is written, *operit multitudinem peccatorum*, "covereth the multitude of sins;" that is to say, considereth the infirmities, and interpreteth all to the best, and taketh for no sin at all a thousand things, of which the least were enough (if a man loved not) to go to law for, and to trouble and unquiet an whole town, and sometime an whole realm or two.

James v.

The office of  
hope. W. T.

And the office of hope is to comfort in adversity and make patient; that we faint not and fall down under the cross, or cast it off our backs.

And thus ye see that these three, inseparable in this life, have yet separable and sundry offices and effects; as heat and dryth<sup>1</sup>, being inseparable in the fire, have yet their separable operations. For the dryth only expelleth the moistness of all that is consumed by fire; and heat only destroyeth the

[<sup>1</sup> Drought, or dryness.]



coldness. For dryth and cold may stand together; and so may heat and moistness. It is not all one to say, the dryth only, and the dryth that is alone; nor all one to say, faith only, and faith that is alone.

Go to then, and desire God to print this profession in thine heart, and to increase it daily more and more; that thou mayest be full shapen like unto the image of Christ, in knowledge and love, and meek thyself, and creep low by the ground, and cleave fast to the rock of this profession, and tie to thy ship this anchor of faith in Christ's blood with the cable of love, to cast it out against all tempests; and so set up thy sail, and get thee to the main sea of God's word. And read here the words of Christ with this exposition following, and thou shalt see the law, faith, and works, restored each to his right use and true meaning; and thereto, the clear difference between the spiritual regiment and the temporal; and shalt have an entrance and open way into the rest of all the scripture. Wherein, and in all other things, the Spirit of verity guide thee and thine understanding. So be it<sup>2</sup>.

[<sup>2</sup> Thus L., but D. has *Amen*.]

# AN EXPOSITION

## UPON THE

### FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS

#### OF

## MATTHEW.

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### THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW.

WHEN he saw the people, he went up into a mountain and sat him down, and his disciples came to him; and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying: Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven<sup>1</sup>.

Poverty in spirit.

CHRIST here, in his first sermon, beginneth to restore the law of the ten commandments unto her right understanding, against the scribes and Pharisees, which were hypocrites, false prophets, and false preachers, and had corrupt the scripture with the leaven of their glosses. And it is not without a great mystery that Christ beginneth his preaching at poverty in spirit; which is neither beggary, nor against the possessing of riches, but a virtue contrary to the vice of covetousness, the inordinate desire and love of riches, and putting trust in riches.

Riches. W. T.

Riches is the gift of God, given man to maintain the degrees of this world, and therefore not evil; yea, and some must be poor and some rich, if we shall have an order in this world. And God, our Father, divideth riches and poverty among his children, according to his godly pleasure and wisdom. And as riches doth not exclude thee from the blessing, so doth not poverty certify thee; but to put thy trust in the living God maketh thee heir thereof. For if thou trust in the living God, then if thou be poor, thou covetest not to be rich; for thou art certified that thy Father shall minister unto thee food and raiment, and be thy

Neither riches nor poverty exclude or assure us of God's blessing.

[<sup>1</sup> In these expositions Tyndale appears to have translated the Greek text afresh, as each passage came before him, instead of copying his own previously published version.]

defender : and if thou have riches, thou knowest that they be but vanity, and that as thou broughtest them not into the world, so shalt thou not carry them out ; and that as they be thine to day, so may they be another man's to-morrow ; and that the favour of God only both gave and also keepeth thee and them, and not thy wisdom or power ; and that they, neither aught else, can help at need, save the good will of thy heavenly Father only. Happy and blessed then are the poor in spirit, that is to say, the rich that have not their confidence nor consolation in the vanity of their riches ; and the poor, that desire not inordinately to be rich, but have their trust in the living God for food and raiment, and for all that pertaineth either to the body or the soul ; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Who are poor in spirit, is here pithily declared.

And contrariwise, unhappy and accursed, and that with the first and deepest of all curses, are the rich in spirit ; that is to say, the covetous that, being rich, trust in their riches, or, being poor, long for the consolation of riches ; and comfort not their souls with the promises of their heavenly Father, confirmed with the blood of their Lord Christ. For unto them it is harder to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle. No ; they have no part in the kingdom of Christ and God. Therefore is it evident, why Christ so diligently warneth all his to beware of covetousness ; and why he admitteth none to be his disciples, except they first forsake all together. For there was never covetous person true yet, either to God or man.

Rich in spirit. W. T.

Mark x.

Eph. v.

If a covetous man be chosen to preach God's word, he is a false prophet immediately. If he be of the lay sort, so joineth he himself unto the false prophets, to persecute the truth. Covetousness is not only, above all other lusts, those thorns that choke the word of God in them that possess it ; but it is also a deadly enemy to all that interpret God's word truly. All other vices, though they laugh them to scorn that talk godly, yet they can suffer them to live, and to dwell in the country : but covetousness cannot rest, as long as there is one that cleaveth to God's word in all the land.

Covetousness is a thing contrary to the word of God, and to the ministers of the same. W. T.

Take heed to thy preacher therefore, and be sure, if he be covetous and gape for promotion, that he is a false prophet, and leaveneth the scripture, for all his crying, ' fathers,

By covetousness is a false prophet chiefly known. W. T.

fathers,' 'holy church,' and 'fifteen hundred years', and for all his other holy pretences.

2. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.

Some cry,  
The world is  
naught, not  
for their own  
and others'  
iniquity; but  
for wayward-  
ness they  
cannot enjoy  
their own  
lusts.

Prov. xvii.

Phil. iv.  
Rom. xii.

Godly  
mourning.  
W. T.

As warmth  
accompani-  
eth the sun,  
so followeth  
the cross a  
true christian  
man.

This mourning is also in the spirit, and no kin to the sour looking of hypocrites, nor to the impatient waywardness of those fleshly, which ever whine and complain that the world is naught, because they cannot obtain and enjoy their lusts therein. Neither forbiddeth it always to be merry, and to laugh, and make good cheer now and then, to forget sorrow, that overmuch heaviness swallow not a man clean up. For the wise man saith, "Sorrow hath cost many their lives." And, "An heavy spirit drieth up the bones." And Paul commandeth to "rejoice ever." And he saith, "Rejoice with them that rejoice; and sorrow with them that sorrow, and weep with them that weep:" which seem two contraries.

This mourning is that cross without which was never any disciple of Christ, or ever shall be. For of whatsoever state or degree thou be in this world, if thou profess the gospel, there followeth thee a cross (as warmth accompanieth the sun shining), under which thy spirit shall groan and mourn secretly, not only because the world and thine own flesh carry thee away, clean contrary to the purpose of thine heart; but also to see and behold the wretchedness and misfortunes of thy brethren, for which (because thou lovest them as well as thyself) thou shalt mourn and sorrow no less than for thyself. Though thou be king or emperor, yet if thou knowest Christ, and God through Christ, and intendest to walk in the sight of God, and to minister thine office truly, thou shalt (to keep justice with all) be compelled to do daily that, which thou art no less loath to do than if thou shouldest cut off arm, hand, or any other member of thine own body. Yea, and if thou wilt follow the right way, and neither turn on the right hand nor on the left, thou shalt have immediately thine own subjects, thine own servants, thine own lords, thine own counsellors, and thine own prophets thereto, against thee; unto whose froward malice and stubbornness, thou shalt be compelled to permit a thousand things against thy conscience,

[<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the priests' common assertion, that the customs then prevalent in the church were instituted by the apostles fifteen hundred years before Tyndale's time.]

not able to resist them, at which thine heart shall bleed inwardly; and shalt sauce thy sweet sops, which the world weeneth thou hast, with sorrows enough; and still mourning, studying either alone, or **else** with a few friends secretly night and day, and sighing to God for help to mitigate the furious frowardness of them whom thou art not able to withstand, that all go not after the will of the ungodly. What was David compelled to suffer all the days of his life of his own servants, the sons of Zeruah<sup>2</sup>, beside the mischances of his own children! And how was our king John forsaken of his own lords, when he would have put a good and godly reformation in his own land!<sup>3</sup> How was Henry the second compassed in like manner of his own prelates, whom he had promoted of nought, with the secret conspiracy of some of his own temporal lords with them! I spare to speak of the mourning of the true preachers, and the poor common people which have none other help, but the secret hand of God, and the word of his promise.

King John.  
W. F.

Henry the  
second.  
W. T.

But they shall be comforted of all their tribulation, and their sorrow shall be turned into joy, and that infinite and everlasting, in the life to come. Neither are they without comfort here in this world; for Christ hath promised to send them a Comforter to be with them for ever, the Spirit of truth which the world knoweth not. And they "rejoice in hope" of the comfort to come. And they overcome through faith, as it is written, The saints "through faith overcame

The promise  
of God's  
word is the  
comfort of  
the afflicted  
in this world  
for Christ's  
sake.

John xlv.  
Rom. xii.

Heb. xi.

[<sup>2</sup> Seruia, D.]

[<sup>3</sup> In so saying, there can be no doubt that Tyndale alluded to what passed in 1207—9, as related by the monkish historian, Matthew Paris, who mentions how John forbade ecclesiastical appeals to Rome; telling Innocent III., that 'Cum archiepiscopi, episcopi et alii ecclesiarum prælati, tam de regno Angliæ quam aliarum terrarum suarum, in omnium scientiarum plenitudine sufficienter abundant, si necessitas coegerit, extra terras suas justitiam vel iudicium ab alienigenis non emendicaret': also that by John's orders, 'Presbyterorum et clericorum focariæ per totam Angliam a ministris regis captæ sunt, et graviter ad se redimendum compulsæ:' and that John patronised a preacher who affirmed, 'ad papam non pertinere de regum sive de quorumlibet potentum laica possessione, vel subditorum regimine; cum præcipue principi apostolorum Petro nihil a Domino nisi ecclesiæ tantum ac rerum ecclesiasticarum sit collata potestas.'—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. f. 188—92. Lond. 1686.]

Faith is our  
victory.  
W. T.  
1 John v.

kingdoms, and obtained the promises." And "this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." But the blind world neither seeth our comfort, nor our trust in God, nor how God, through faith in his word, helpeth us, and maketh us overcome.

By persecu-  
tion and  
death for the  
truth's sake  
we obtain  
life, and get  
the victory.

The mourn-  
ers for right-  
eousness are  
saved, when  
God taketh  
vengeance  
on the un-  
righteous.  
W. T.  
Ezek. ix.

How overcome they (wilt thou say) that be always persecuted, and ever slain? Verily in every battle some of them that win the field be slain: yet they leave the victory unto their dear friends, for whose sakes they took the fight upon them; and therefore are conquerors, seeing they obtain their purpose, and maintain that they fought for. The cursed rich of this world, which have their joy and comfort in their riches, have since the beginning fought against them, to weed them out of the world: but yet in vain. For though they have always slain some, yet those that were slain won the victory for their brethren with their death, and ever increased the number of them. And though they seemed to die in the sight of the foolish, yet they are in peace, and have obtained that everlasting kingdom for which they fought. And besides all this, when God plagueth the world for their sin, these that mourn and sorrow are marked with the sign of Thau in their foreheads, and saved from the plague, that they perish not with the wicked, as thou seest, and as Lot was delivered from among the Sodomites.

Luke vi.  
Luke xvi.

And contrariwise, cursed are they that laugh now, that is to say, which have their joy, solace, and comfort in their riches; for they shall sorrow and weep. And as it was answered the rich man, "Son, remember how that thou receivedst thy good days in thy life-time, and Lazarus likewise evil; and therefore is he comforted and thou tormented."

### 3. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

Meekness  
possesseth  
the earth.  
W. T.

[Psal. xxxvii.  
6.]

By the earth understand all that we possess in this world; which all God will keep for us, if we be soft and meek. And whatsoever trouble arise, yet, if we will be patient and abide, the end will go on our side; as it is written in the thirty-sixth Psalm, "The wicked shall be weeded out, but they that abide the Lord's leisure shall inherit the earth." And again: "Within a while the wicked shall be gone, thou shalt behold the place where he was, and he shall be away; but the meek (or soft) shall inherit the earth." Even as we say, 'Be

still, and have thy will;' and, 'Of little meddling cometh much rest;' for a patient man shall wear out all his enemies.

It is impossible to dwell in any place where no displeasure should be done thee. If it be done unwillingly, as when thy neighbour's beasts break into thy corn by some chance against his will, then it is reason that thou be soft and forgive. If it be done of malice and self-will, then with revenging thou dost but, with pottering in the fire, make the flame greater, and givest an occasion of more evil to be done thee. If any man rail on thee and rebuke thee, answer not again, and the heat of his malice shall die in itself, and go out immediately; as fire doth, when no more wood is laid thereon. If the wrong that is done be greater than thou art able to bear, trust in God, and complain with all meekness unto the officer, that is set of God to forbid such violence. And if the gentlemen that dwell about thee be tyrants, be ready to help to fetch home their wood, to plough their land, to bring in their harvest, and so forth; and let thy wife visit my lady now and then with a couple of fat hens, or a fat capon, and such like, and then thou shalt possess all the remnant in rest: or else one quarrel or other may be picked to thee, to make thee quit of all together.

Refer the revenge of thy cause to the magistrate whom God appointeth to forbid such violence.

Choose whether thou wilt, with softness and suffering, have God on thy side, ever to save thee, and to give thee ever enough, and to have a good conscience and peace on the earth; or with furiousness and impatience, to have God against thee, and to be polled a little and a little of all together, and to have an evil conscience and never rest on earth, and to have thy days shortened thereto. God hath promised, if thou be meek and soft and suffer a little persecution, to give thee not only the life to come, but also an hundredfold here in this life: that is to say, to give thee his ownself, and to be thy protector, and minister to thee ever enough, which may of right be called an hundredfold, and is a treasure passing the treasure of all princes.

Hundred fold. W. T.

Finally, Christ teacheth here how every man must live for himself among them to whom he is a neighbour, and in private matters in which he is but as a neighbour (though he be a king), and in which thou canst not be too soft. But, and if thou be an officer, then thou must be good, kind, and merciful; but not a milksop, and negligent. And to whom

The private person may not avenge, but the officer must. W. T.

thou art a father, them must thou rule, and make obedient, and that with sharpness, if softness will not be heard, and so in all other offices.

4. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be fulfilled.

Righteousness. W. T.

How this word righteousness ought here to be understood.

Righteousness in this place is not taken for the principal righteousness of a christian man, through which the person is good and accepted before God. For these eight points are but doctrine of the fruits and works of a christian man, before which the faith must be there, to make righteous without all deserving of works, and as a tree out of which all such fruits and works must spring. Wherefore understand here the outward righteousness before the world, and true and faithful dealing each with other, and just executing of the offices of all manner degrees, and meek obedience of all that are under power. So that the meaning is: happy are they which not only do their duties to all men, but also study and help to the uttermost of their power, with word, deed, counsel, and exhorting, that all other deal truly also, according to the degree that every man beareth in the world; and be as desirous to further good order and righteous dealing, as the hungry and thirsty be desirous to eat and drink.

Monks.

Monks, why they run into religion. W. T.

And note, that it is not for nought that he saith, Hunger and thirst. For except thy soul hunger and thirst for this righteousness of her new nature, as the body doth for meat and drink of his old nature, the devil and the children of this world (which cannot suffer that a man either deal truly himself, or help other) will so resist thee, plague thee, and so weary thee, that thou hadst lever, of very mistrust, and desperation that thy state<sup>1</sup> should be better, to forsake all, and make thyself a monk or a friar, yea, and to run into a strange country, and leave all thy friends, than to abide in the world, and to let it choose whether it will sink or swim.

But to comfort us, that we faint not or be weary of well doing, Christ promiseth that all that have this thirst and hunger shall have their lust satisfied, and be translated into a kingdom where none unrighteousness is; besides that

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. has *that ought*.]



thou shalt here at length<sup>2</sup> see many come to the right way, and belp with thee, and many things that cannot be altogether mended, yet somewhat bettered and more tolerable; so that all righteousness shall not be quenched.

And contrariwise, "Cursed be all they that are full," as Luke vi. Luke in the sixth saith; that is to say, the hypocrites which, to avoid all labour, sorrow, care, cumbrance, and suffering with their brethren, get them to dens, to live at rest, and to fill their bellies; the wealth of other men not regarded. No, it were a grief to them that other were better, that they alone may be taken for holy; and that whosoever will to heaven, must buy it of them. Yea, they be so full, that they prefer themselves before<sup>3</sup> poor sinners, and look as narrowly on them as the Pharisee did on the publican, thanking God that he alone was good, and the other evil. Cursed are they yet for all their fulness; for they shall hunger with everlasting hunger, where none shall give them to eat, nor they have any refreshing of their pains.

Monks  
cursed.  
W. T.

Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

5.

To be merciful is to have compassion and to feel another man's disease; and to mourn with them that mourn, and suffer with them that suffer; and to help and succour them that are in tribulation and adversity; and to comfort them with good counsel, and wholesome instruction, and loving words. And to be merciful is lovingly to forgive them that offended thee, as soon as they knowlege their misdoing and ask thee mercy. To be merciful is patiently long to abide the conversion of sinners with a lusty courage, and hope that God will at the last convert them, and in the mean time to pray instantly for them; and ever when he seeth an occasion to exhort them, warn them, monish them, and rebuke them. And to be merciful is to interpret all to the best; and to look through the fingers at many things; and not to make a grievous sin of every small trifle; and to suffer and forbear, in his own cause, the malice of them that will not repent nor be aknownd of their wickedness, as long as he can suffer it, and as long as it ought to be suffered; and when he can no longer,

To be merciful, what it is. W. T.

[<sup>2</sup> So D., but L. *hear and see.*]

[<sup>3</sup> So D., but L., *compare themselves to open.*]

then to complain to them that have authority to forbid wrong, and to punish such evil doers.

Monks.  
W. T.

Convent.  
W. T.

Oil

Holy oil  
must be  
avenged.  
W. T.

Zeal of  
righteous-  
ness, what  
it is. W. T.

Care.

How the  
spirituality  
care for the  
temporal  
common-  
wealth.  
W. T.

But the hypocrites, clean contrary, condemn all men for grievous sinners, save them only that buy their holiness of them. And because they will suffer with no man, they get them to silence. And because they will help no man, all that they have (say they) pertaineth unto the convent<sup>1</sup>, and is none of theirs. And if they be offended, they will be avenged immediately. And to cloak, that they should not seem to avenge themselves, the matter (say they) pertaineth to God and holy church, or to some saint, or to one or other holy thing: as if thou smite one of them on the one cheek, he will turn to thee the other, ere he will avenge himself; but the injury of the holy oil wherewith he was anointed, that must he avenge, and that with a spiritual punishment; that thou must be accursed as black as a collier, and delivered to Satan. And if thou come not in, and ask absolution, and offer thyself to penance and to paying thereto, they will not suffer till the devil fetch thee, but will deliver thee to the fire, in the mean time; and all for zeal of righteousness, say they.

O hypocrites! the zeal of righteousness is to hunger and thirst for righteousness, as it is above described: that is, to care, and study, and to do the uttermost of thy power, that all things went in the right course and due order, both through all degrees of the temporality and also of the spirituality, and to jeopard life and goods thereon.

All the world can bear record what pain ye take, and how ye care, for the temporal commonwealth, that all degrees therein did and had their duty; and how ye put your lives in adventure to preach the truth, and to inform lords and princes, and to cry upon them to fear God and to be learned, and to minister their offices truly unto their subjects, and to be merciful, and an example of virtue unto them. And how help ye that youth were brought up in learning and virtue, and that the poor were provided for, of food and raiment, &c.? And how provide ye that your priests be all learned, and preach, and do their duties truly every man in his parish? How provide ye that sects arise not, to poll the people and lead them out of the way, under a colour of praying and hypocritical holiness, living themselves idle, and being utterly

[<sup>1</sup> Convent: convent.]

unto the commonwealth unprofitable? Who smelleth not the sweet odour of chastity, that is among you? What righteousness is in your sanctuaries, and what indifferent equity is in all your exemptions, privileges, and liberties! By your works we judge you, and your zeal to righteousness; and not by your sophistical subtle reasons, with which ye would claw our ears, bleer our eyes, and beguile our wits, to take your tyrannous covetous crudelity<sup>2</sup> for the zeal of righteousness!

Finally, he that will not be merciful, to be blessed of God, and to obtain mercy of him, both here and in the life to come, let him be accursed with the unmerciful, and to him be "judgment without mercy," according to the words of St James ii. James ii.

Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

6.

"That which entereth into a man defileth not a man, but the things that defile a man proceed first out of his heart," as thou mayest see Matt. xv. "Thence come out evil thoughts (saith Christ), as murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witnessings and blasphemies. These are the things that make a man foul." A man then is not foul in the sight of God, till his heart be foul. And the filthiness of the heart are thoughts that study to break God's commandments. Wherefore the pureness of the heart is the consenting and studious<sup>3</sup> purpose to keep the law of God, and to mean truly in all thy words and works, and to do them with a true intent.

It followeth then that thou mayest be pure-hearted, and therewith do all that God hath commanded, or not forbidden. Thou mayest be pure-hearted, and have a wife and get children; be a judge, and condemn to death them that have deserved it; hang or behead evil doers, after they be by a just process condemned. Thou mayest be pure-hearted, and do all the drudge in the world. Lot was pure-hearted among the Sodomites. Nicodemus, being in the council, among them that conspired the death of Christ, was pure-

[<sup>2</sup> Crudelity, i. e. cruelty, from the Latin form of the word]

[<sup>3</sup> Study and studious, are here used in that sense which they have in the Latin; that is, to desire, and desirous.]

hearted, and consented not with them to the death of that innocent.

The end of  
the law is to  
justify all  
that believe.  
Rom. x.  
[Matt. xi.  
27.]

If the law be written in thine heart, it will drive thee to Christ; which is the end of the law, to justify all that believe. And Christ will shew thee his Father. "For no man seeth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will shew him." If thou believe in Christ that he is thy Saviour, that faith will lead thee in immediately, and shew thee God with a lovely and amiable countenance; and make thee feel and see how that he is thy Father, altogether merciful to thee, and at one with thee, and thou his son, and highly in his favour and grace, and sure that thou pleasest him, when thou dost an hundred things which some holy people would suppose themselves defiled if they should but think on them. And to see God is the blessing of a pure heart.

Impure-  
hearted, who  
are. W. T.

Impure and unclean-hearted, then, are all they that study to break God's commandments. Impure-hearted are all that believe not in Christ, to be justified by him. Impure-hearted are all hypocrites, that do their work for a false purpose, either for praise, profit, or to be justified thereby; which painted sepulchres (as Christ calleth them) can never see God, or be sure that they be in the state of grace, and that their works he accepted; because they have not God's word with them, but clean against them.

7. Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

Peace-  
making,  
what.

To inherit this blessing, it is not only required that thou have peace in thyself, and that thou take all to the best, and be not offended lightly and for every small trifle, and alway ready to forgive, nor sow no discord, nor avenge thine own wrong; but also that thou be fervent and diligent to make peace, and to go between, where thou knowest or hearest malice and envy to be, or seest hate or strife to arise between person and person, and that thou leave nothing unsought, to set them at one.

Princes,  
what they  
ought to do  
ere they  
make war.  
W. T.

And though Christ here speak not of the temporal sword, but teacheth how every man shall live for himself toward his neighbour; yet princes, if they will be God's children, must not only give no cause of war, nor begin any; but also (though he have a just cause) suffer himself to be entreated, if

he that gave the cause repent; and must also seek all ways of peace, before he fight. Howbeit when all is sought, and nothing will help, then he ought, and is bound, to defend his land and subjects: and in so doing he is a peace-maker, as well as when he causeth thieves and murderers to be punished for their evil doing, and breaking of the common peace of his land and subjects.

If thou have peace in thyself, and lovest the peace of thy brethren after this manner, so is God, through Christ, at peace with thee; and thou his beloved son, and heir also.

When thou mayest assure thyself to be the son and heir of God.

Moreover, if the wrong done thee be greater than thou mayest bear: as when thou art a person not for thyself only, but in respect of other, in whatsoever worldly degree it be, and hast an office committed thee; then (when thou hast warned, with all good manner, him that did it, and none amendment will be had) keep peace in thine heart and love him still, and complain to them that are set to reform such things; and so art thou yet a peace-maker, and still the son of God. But if thou avenge thyself, or desirest more than that such wrong<sup>1</sup> be forbidden, thou sinnest against God in taking the authority of God upon thee, without his commandment. God is Father over all, and is (of right) judge over all his children, and to him only pertaineth all avenging. Who therefore without his commandment avengeth, either with heart or hand, the same doth cast himself into the hands of the sword, and loseth the right of his cause.

Vengeances pertaineth to God only. W. T.

And on the other side, cursed be the peace-breakers, pick-quarrels, whisperers, backbiters, sowers of discord, dispraisers of them that be good, to bring them out of favour, interpreters to evil that is done for a good purpose, finders of faults where none is, stirrers up of princes to battle and war; and above all, cursed be they that falsely belie the true preachers of God's word, to bring them into hate, and to shed their blood wrongfully, for hate of the truth: for all such are children of the devil.

Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

If the faith of Christ and law of God (in which two all righteousness is contained,) be written in thine heart; that is,

In the faith of Christ and law of God all our righteousness is contained.

[<sup>1</sup> So L., but D. *wrongs*.]

if thou believe in Christ to be justified from sin, or for remission of sin, and consentest in thine heart to the law, that it is good, holy, and just, and thy duty to do it, and submittest thyself so to do; and thereupon goest forth, and testifiest that faith and law of righteousness openly unto the world, in word and deed; then will Satan stir up his members against thee, and thou shalt be persecuted on every side. But be of good comfort, and faint not. Call to mind the saying of Paul, how

2 Tim. iii. "all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." Remember how all the prophets that went before thee were so dealt with. Remember the examples of the apostles, and of Christ himself; and that the disciple is no better than his master; and that Christ admitteth no disciple, which not only leaveth not all, but also taketh his cross too. We be not called to a soft living, and to peace in this world; but unto peace of conscience in God our Father, through Jesus Christ, and to war in this world.

2 Tim. iii.

Luke vi.

The peace  
of Christ is a  
peace of con-  
science.  
W. T.

To suffer  
with Christ  
in this  
world is to  
be glorified  
with him in  
the world to  
come.

Moreover comfort thyself with the hope of the blessing of the inheritance of heaven, there to be glorified with Christ, if thou here suffer with him. For if we be like Christ here in his passions, and bear his image in soul and body, and fight manfully<sup>1</sup> that Satan blot it not out, and suffer with Christ for bearing record to righteousness; then shall we be like him in glory. St John saith in the third chapter of his epistle, "Yet<sup>2</sup> appeareth not what we shall be, but we know that when he appeareth, we shall be like him." And Paul, "Our conversation is in heaven, whence we look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall change our vile bodies, and make them like his glorious body."

1 John iii.

Phil. iii.

1 Pet. ii. iv.

It is an happy thing to suffer for righteousness' sake, but not for unrighteousness. "For what praise is it" (saith Peter, in the second of his first epistle), "though ye suffer, when ye be buffeted for your offences?" Wherefore in the fourth of the same he saith, "See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil doer, or a busy body in other men's matters." Such suffering glorifieth not God, nor art thou thereby heir of heaven. Beware therefore that thou deserve not that thou sufferest. But if thou do, then beware much more of them that would bear thee in hand, how that such suffering should be satisfaction of thy sins, and a deserving of

[<sup>1</sup> L. has *yea that*.][<sup>2</sup> L. has *yet it*.]

heaven. No; suffering for righteousness, though heaven be promised thereto, yet doth it not deserve heaven, nor yet make satisfaction for the fore sins: Christ doth both twain. But and if thou repent and believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and then confess, not only before God, but also openly, before all that see thee suffer, how that thou hast deserved that thou sufferest, for breaking the good and righteous law of thy Father, and then takest thy punishment patiently, as an wholesome medicine to heal thy flesh that it sin no more, and to fear thy brethren that they fall not into like offence, as Moses teacheth every where; then, as thy patience in suffering is pleasant in the sight of thy brethren which behold thee, pity thee, and suffer with thee in their hearts, even so is it in the sight of God, and it is to thee a sure token that thou hast true faith and true repentance.

No bodily pain can be a satisfaction to God, save Christ's passion. W. T.

And as they be blessed which suffer for righteousness, even so are they accursed which run away, and let it be trodden under the feet, and will not suffer for the faith of their Lord and law of their Father, nor stand by their neighbours in their just causes.

Blessed are ye, when they revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake, and yet lie. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Even so verily they persecuted the prophets that were before you.

Here seest thou the uttermost, what a christian man must look for. It is not enough to suffer for righteousness; but that no bitterness or poison be left out of thy cup, thou shalt be reviled and railed upon; and even when thou art condemned to death, then be excommunicate and delivered to Satan, deprived of the fellowship of holy church, the company of the angels, and of thy part in Christ's blood; and shalt be cursed down to hell, defied, detested, and execrated with all the blasphemous railings that the poisonous heart of hypocrites can think or imagine; and shalt see before thy face when thou goest to thy death, that all the world is persuaded and brought in belief that thou hast said and done that thou never thoughtest, and that thou diest for that thou art as guiltless of as the child that is unborn.

What the most cruel persecutions is. W. T.

[<sup>3</sup> So D., but L. *poison hearts*.]

Set the example of Christ before thee. W. T.

Well, though iniquity so highly prevail, and the truth, for which thou diest, be so low kept under, and be not once known before the world, insomuch that it seemeth rather to be bindered by thy death than furthered, (which is of all griefs the greatest;) yet let not thine heart fail thee, neither despair, as though God had forsaken thee, or loved thee not: but comfort thyself with old ensamples, how God hath suffered all his old friends to be so entreated, and also his only and dear son Jesus; whose ensample, above all other, set before thine eyes, because thou art sure he was beloved above all other, that thou doubt not but thou art beloved also, and so much the more beloved, the more thou art like to the image of his ensample in suffering.

Did not the hypocrites watch him in all his sermons, to trap him in his own words? Was he not subtilly apposed, whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar? Were not all his words wrong reported? Were not his miracles ascribed to Beelzebub? Said they not, he was a Samaritan, and had a devil in him? Was he not called a breaker of the sabbath, a wine-drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners? Did he aught wherewith no fault was found, and that was not interpreted to be done for an evil purpose? Was not the pretence of his death the destroying of the temple, to bring him into the hate of all men? Was he not thereto accused of treason, that he forbad to pay tribute to Cæsar, and that he moved the people to insurrection? Railed they not on him in the bitterest of all his passion, as he hanged on the cross, saying, "Save thyself, thou that savest other," "come down from the cross, and we will believe in thee;" fie, wretch, "that destroyest the temple" of God?

Yet he was beloved of God; and so art thou. His cause came to light also, and so shall thine at the last; yea, and thy reward is great in heaven with him for thy deep suffering.

Most accursed, who. W. T.

And on the other side, as they be cursed which leave righteousness destitute, and will not suffer therewith; so are they most accursed, which know the truth, and yet not only flee therefrom because they will not suffer, but also, for lucre, become the most cruel enemies thereof and most subtle persecutors, and most falsely lie thereon also.

Works justify not. W. T.

Finally, though God, when he promiseth to bless our



works, do bind us to work if we will obtain the blessing or promise; yet must we beware of this pharisaical pestilence, to think that our works did deserve the promises. For whatsoever God commandeth us to do, that is our duty to do, though there were no such promise made to us at all. The promise therefore cometh not of the deserving of the worker (as though God had need of aught that we could do), but of the pure mercy of God, to make us the more willing to do that is our duty, &c. For if, when we had done all that God commandeth us to do, he then gave us up into the hands of tyrants, and killed us, and sent us to purgatory (which men so greatly fear), or to hell, and all the angels of heaven with us; he did us no wrong, nor were unrighteous, for aught that we or they could challenge of deserving: howsoever that God useth his creatures, he ever abideth righteous; till thou canst prove that, after he hath bound himself with his own word of mercy, he then breaks promise with them that keep covenant with him. So now, if nought were promised, nought could we challenge, whatsoever we did. And therefore the promise cometh of the goodness of the promiser only; and not of the deserving of those works, of which God hath no need, and which were no less our duty to do, though there were no such promise.

Not the worker, but the pure mercy of God is cause of the promise made unto.

Ye be the salt of the earth: but if the salt be waxen unsavoury, what 10.  
can be salted therewith? It is henceforth nothing worth, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

The office of an apostle and true preacher is to salt, not only the corrupt manners and conversation of earthly people, but also the rotten heart within, and all that springeth out thereof; their natural reason, their will, their understanding and wisdom; yea, and their faith and belief, and all that they have imagined without God's word concerning righteousness, justifying, satisfaction and serving of God. And the nature of salt is to bite, fret, and make smart. And the sick patients of the world are marvellous impatient, so that, though with great pain they can suffer their gross sins to be rebuked under a fashion, as in a parable afar off; yet, to have their righteousness, their holiness, and serving of God and his saints, disallowed, improved, and condemned for damnable and devilish, that may they not abide: insomuch that thou

The office of a true preacher.

It is a jeopards thing to salt hypocrisy.  
W. T.

must leave thy salting or else be prepared to suffer again; even to be called a railer, seditious, a maker of discord, and a troubler of the common peace; yea, a schismatic, and an heretic also; and to be lied upon, that thou hast done and said that thou never thoughtest, and then to be called *coram nobis*<sup>1</sup>, and to sing a new song, and forswear salting, or else to be sent after thy fellows that are gone before, and the way thy Master went.

Salt.

Who is meet  
to salt.  
W. T.

True preaching is a salting that stirreth up persecution; and an office that no man is meet for, save he that is seasoned himself before with poverty in spirit, softness, meekness, patience, mercifulness, pureness of heart, and hunger of righteousness, and looking for persecution also<sup>2</sup>; and hath all his hope, comfort, and solace, in the blessing only, and in no worldly thing.

A true  
preacher of  
God's word  
must use no  
partiality for  
fear of perse-  
cution.

Nay, will some say, a man might preach long enough without persecution, yea, and get favour too, if he would not meddle with the pope, bishops, prelates, and holy ghostly people that live in contemplation and solitariness, nor with great men of the world. I answer, true preaching is salting; and all that is corrupt must be salted: and those persons are of all other most corrupt, and therefore may not be left untouched.

The pope's pardons must be rebuked; the abuse of the mass, of 'the sacraments, and of all the ceremonies must be rebuked and salted. And selling of merits, and of prayers, must be salted. The abuse of fasting and of pilgrimage must be salted. All idolatry and false faith must be rebuked. And those friars that teach men to believe in St Francis' coat, how that they shall never come in hell or purgatory, if they be buried therein<sup>3</sup>, may not be passed over with silence.

Monks, why  
they run to  
cloisters.  
W. T.

The pain and grief of salting made monks flee to their cloister. Nay (say they), we went thither of pure devotion to pray for the people. Yea, but for all that, the more ye increase, and the more ye multiply your prayers, the worse the world is. That is not our fault (say they), but theirs; that

[<sup>1</sup> *Before us*: the expression is taken from the old Latin form of a magistrate's warrant, summoning the accused.]

[<sup>2</sup> So D., but L. has *longing for persecution too*.]

[<sup>3</sup> See P.S. I. p. 122, n. 2.]

they dispose not themselves, but continue in sin, and so are unapt to receive the influence of our prayers. O hypocrites! if ye were true salt and had good hearts, and loved your neighbours (if dead men be neighbours to them that are alive), and would come out of your dens, and take pain to salt and season them, ye should make a great many of them so apt that your prayers might take effect. But now seeing, as ye say, they be so unsavoury that your prayers be to them unprofitable, though their goods be to you profitable, and yet ye have no compassion to come out and salt them, it is manifest that ye love not them, but theirs; and that ye pray not for them, but, under the colour of praying, mock them and rob them.

Finally, salt, which is the true understanding of the law, of faith, and of the intent of all works, hath in you lost her virtue; neither be there any so unsavoury in the world as ye are, nor any that so sore kick against true salting as ye: and therefore are ye to be east out, and trodden under foot, and despised of all men, by the righteous judgment of God.

By salt is understood the true understanding of the law, as of faith, of works, &c.

"If salt have lost his saltness, it is good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men." That is, if the preacher, which for his doctrine is called salt, have lost the nature of salt, that is to say, his sharpness in rebuking all unrighteousness, all natural reason, natural wit and understanding, and all trust and confidence in whatsoever it be, save in the blood of Christ; he is condemned of God, and disallowed of all them that cleave to the truth. In what case stand they then that have benefices and preach not? Verily, though they stand at the altar, yet are they excommunicate and east out of the living church of almighty God.

Spirituality: why they be despised. W. T.

And what if the doctrine be not true salt? Verily then is it to be trodden under foot: as must all wearish<sup>4</sup> and unsavoury ceremonies which have lost their significations, and not only teach not, and are become unprofitable and do no more service to man; but also have obtained authority as God in the heart of man, that man serveth them, and putteth in them the trust and confidence that he should put in God his maker through Jesus Christ his redeemer. Are the institutions of man better than God's? Yea, are God's ordinances better now than in the old time? The prophets trod

Ceremonies must be salted. W. T.

[<sup>4</sup> Used by Ascham for *sour*. Johnson's Dict. *weerish*.]

under foot, and defied the temple of God, and the sacrifices of God, and all ceremonies that God had ordained, with fastings and prayings, and all that the people perverted and committed idolatry with. We have as strait a commandment, to salt and rebuke all ungodliness, as had the prophets. Will they then have their ceremonies honourably spoken of? Then let them restore them to the right use, and put the salt of the true meaning and significations of them to them again. But as they be now used, none that loveth Christ can speak honourably of them. What true christian man can give honour to that that taketh all honour from Christ? Who can give honour to that that slayeth the soul of his brother, and robbeth his heart of that trust and confidence, which he should give to his Lord that hath bought him with his blood?

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and so giveth it light to all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise your Father that is in heaven.

Christ goeth forth and describeth the office of an apostle and true preacher by another likeness; as he called them before the salt of the earth, even so here the light of the world: signifying thereby that all the doctrine, all the wisdom, and high knowledge of the world,—whether it were philosophy of natural conclusions, of manners and virtue, or of laws of righteousness,—whether it were of the holy scripture and of God himself,—was yet but a darkness, until the doctrine of his apostles came; that is to say, until the knowledge of Christ came, how that he is the sacrifice for our sins, our satisfaction, our peace, atonement and redemption, our life thereto, and resurrection. Whatsoever holiness, wisdom, virtue, perfectness, or righteousness, is in the world among men, howsoever perfect and holy they appear; yet is all damnable darkness, except the right knowledge of Christ's blood be there first, to justify the heart, before all other holiness.

Another conclusion: As "a city built on a hill cannot be hid," no more can the light of Christ's gospel. Let the world rage as much as it will, yet it will shine on their sore eyes, whether they be content or no.

All knowledge is darkness, till the knowledge of Christ's blood-shedding be in the heart.  
W. T.

Another conclusion: As "men light not a candle to whelm it under a bushel, but to put it on a candlestick, to light all that are in the house;" even so the light of Christ's gospel may not be hid, nor made a several thing, as though it pertained to some certain holy persons only. Nay, it is the light of the whole world, and pertaineth to all men; and therefore may not be made several. It is a madness that divers men say, 'The lay people may not know it:' except they can prove that the lay people be not of the world. Moreover it will not be hid; but as the lightning, that breaketh out of the clouds, shineth over all, even so doth the gospel of Christ. For where it is truly received, there it purifieth the heart, and maketh the person to consent to the laws of God, and to begin a new and godly living, fashioned after God's laws, and without all dissimulation: and then it will kindle so great love in him toward his neighbour, that he shall not only have compassion on him in his bodily adversity, but much more pity him over the blindness of his soul, and minister to him Christ's gospel. Wherefore if they say, 'It is here or there, in St Francis's coat, or Dominick's, and such like, and if thou wilt put on that coat, thou shalt find it there,' it is false. For if it were there, thou shouldest see it shine abroad, though thou creepest not into a cell or a monk's cowl, as thou seest the lightning without creeping into the clouds: yea, their light would so shine that men should not only see the light of the gospel, but also their "good works," which would as fast come out as they now run in; insomuch that thou shouldest see them make themselves poor, to help other, as they now make other poor, to make themselves rich.

The lay  
ought to have  
the gospel.  
W. T.

The property  
of the gospel.  
W. T.

The true  
gospel is not  
hid in dens.  
W. T.

If the spiri-  
tualty were a  
light, as they  
ought to  
be, they  
would make  
themselves  
poor, to  
make other  
rich; but  
they make  
other poor,  
and them-  
selves rich.

This light and salt pertained not then to the apostles, and now to our hishops and spirituality, only. No; it pertaineth to the temporal men also. For all kings and all rulers are bound to be salt and light; not only in example of living, but also in teaching of doctrine unto their subjects, as well as they be bound to punish evil doers. Doth not the scripture testify that king David was chosen to be a shepherd, and to feed his people with God's word? It is an evil schoolmaster that cannot but beat only: but it is a good schoolmaster that so teacheth, that few need to be beaten. This salt and light therefore pertain to the temporality also,

Kings ought  
to be learned.  
W. T.

and that to every member of Christ's church: so that every man ought to be salt and light to other.

The order  
how every  
man may be  
a preacher,  
and how not.  
W. T.

Every man then may be a common preacher, thou wilt say, and preach every where by his own authority. Nay, verily; no man may yet be a common preacher, save he that is called and chosen thereto by the common ordinance of the congregation, as long as the preacher teacheth the true word of God. But every private man ought to be, in virtuous living, both light and salt to his neighbour: insomuch that the poorest ought to strive to overrun<sup>1</sup> the bishop, and preach to him in ensample of living. Moreover every man ought to preach in word and deed unto his household, and to them that are under his governance, &c. And though no man may preach openly, save he that hath the office committed unto him, yet ought every man to endeavour himself to be as well learned as the preacher, as nigh as it is possible. And every man may privately inform his neighbour; yea, and the preacher and bishop too, if need be. For if the preacher preach wrong, then may any man, whatsoever he be, rebuke him; first privately, and then, if that help not, to complain farther. And when all is proved, according to the order of charity, and yet none amendment had, then ought every man that can to resist him, and to stand by Christ's doctrine, and to jeopard life and all for it. Look on the old ensamples and they shall teach thee.

None ought  
to preach  
openly, but  
such as are  
admitted by  
the ordinance  
of the con-  
gregation.

Spiritual and  
temporal re-  
giment do  
differ.

The gospel hath another freedom with her than the temporal regiment. Though every man's body and goods be under the king, do he right or wrong, yet is the authority of God's word free, and above the king: so that the worst in the realm may tell the king, if he do him wrong, that he doth naught, and otherwise than God hath commanded him; and so warn him to avoid the wrath of God, which is the patient avenger of all unrighteousness. May I then, and ought also, to resist father and mother and all temporal power with God's word, when they wrongfully do or command that hurteth or killeth the body; and have I no power to resist the bishop or preacher, that with false doctrine slayeth the souls, for which my master and Lord Christ hath shed his blood? Be we otherwise under our bishops than

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. *overcome*.]

Christ and his apostles and all the<sup>2</sup> prophets were under the bishops of the old law? Nay, verily: and therefore may we, and also ought to do as they did, and to answer as the apostles did, *Oportet magis obedire Deo quam hominibus*; "We must rather obey God than men." In the gospel every man is Christ's disciple, and a person for himself, to defend Christ's doctrine in his own person<sup>3</sup>. The faith of the bishop will not help me, nor the bishop's keeping the law is sufficient for me. But I must believe in Christ for the remission of all sin, for mine ownself, and in mine own person. No more is the bishop's or preacher's defending God's word enough for me; but I must defend it in mine own person, and jeopard life and all thereon when I see need and occasion.

Acts v.

Every man  
must defend  
Christ's doc-  
trine in his  
own person.

I am bound to get worldly substance for myself and for mine household with my just labour; and somewhat more for them that cannot, to save my neighbour's body: and am I not more bound to labour for God's word, to have thereof in store, to save my neighbour's soul? And when is it so much time to resist with God's word and to help, as when they which are believed to minister the true word do slay the souls with false doctrine for covetousness' sake? He that is not ready to give his life for the maintenance of Christ's doctrine against hypocrites, with whatsoever name or title they be disguised, the same is not worthy of Christ, nor can he Christ's disciple, by the very words and testimony of Christ. Nevertheless we must use wisdom, patience, meekness, and a discreet process, after the due order of charity, in our defending the word of God; lest, while we go about to amend our prelates, we make them worse. But when we have proved<sup>4</sup> all that charity bindeth us, and yet in vain; then we must come forth openly, and rebuke their wickedness in the face of the world, and jeopard life and all thereon.

Whoso re-  
fuseth to die  
for Christ's  
sake, cannot  
be the disciple  
of Christ.

[<sup>2</sup> So L., but D. has *the other prophets*.]

[<sup>3</sup> The words *person* and *parson* were not yet made two, by the adoption of the letter *a* into the first syllable of the synonyme for a Christian minister, as a means of distinguishing between them. Tyn-dale has therefore employed the word *person* here in each sense. At one period, in our language, the name of *person* was given to a rector, when meant to be distinguished from a vicar. Of this examples are given in Johnson, Dict.]

[<sup>4</sup> That is, *tried*; as in 1 Sam. xvii. 39.]

Ye shall not think that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: no, I am not come to destroy them, but to fulfil them. For truly I say unto you, till heaven and earth perish, there shall not one jot or one tittle of the law scape, till all be fulfilled.

A little before Christ calleth his disciples the light of the world, and the salt of the earth; and that because of their doctrine, wherewith they should lighten the blind understanding of man, and with true knowledge drive out the false opinions and sophistical persuasions of natural reason, and deliver the scripture out of the captivity of false glosses, which the hypocritical Pharisees had patched thereto: and so, out of the light of true knowledge, to stir up a new living, and to salt and season the corrupt manners of the old blind conversation. For where false doctrine, corrupt opinions, and sophistical glosses, reign in the wit and understanding, there is the living devilish in the sight of God, howsoever it appear in the sight of the blind world. And on the other side, where the doctrine is true and perfect, there followeth godly living of necessity. For out of the inward belief of the heart floweth the outward conversation of the members. He that believeth that he ought to love his enemy, shall never cease fighting against his own self, till he have weeded all rancour and malice out of his heart: but he that believeth it not, shall put a visor of hypocrisy on his face, till he get opportunity to avenge himself.

And here he beginneth to teach them to be that light and that salt of which he spake, and saith: Though the scribes and Pharisees bear the people in hand, that all I do is of the devil, and accuse me of breaking the law and the prophets, (as they afterward railed on the apostles, that they drave the people from good works through preaching the justifying and righteousness of faith;) yet see that ye, my disciples, be not of that belief. For heaven and earth shall sooner perish, than one jot or tittle of the law should be put out. I come not to destroy the law, but to repair it only, and to make it go upright where it halteth; and even to make crooked straight, and rough smooth, as John the Baptist doth in the wilderness; and to teach the true understanding of the law. Without me the law cannot be fulfilled, nor ever could. For though the law were given by Moses, yet grace and verity, that is to say, the true understanding

False doctrine causeth evil works.  
W. T.

True doctrine is cause of good works.  
W. T.

Grace and truth through Jesus Christ.  
W. T.



and power to love it, and of love to fulfil it, cometh and ever came through faith in me.

I do but only wipe away the filthy and rotten glosses wherewith the scribes and the Pharisees have smeared<sup>1</sup> the law, and the prophets; and rebuke their damnable living, which they have fashioned, not after the law of God, but after their own sophistical glosses, feigned to mock out the law of God, and to beguile the whole world, and to lead them in blindness. And that the scribes and Pharisees falsely bely me, how that I go about to destroy the law, and to set the people at a fleshly liberty, and to make them first disobedient, and to despise their spiritual prelates, and then to rise against the temporal rulers, and to make all common, and to give licence to sin unpunished; cometh only of pure malice, hate, envy, and furious impatiency, that their visors are plucked from their faces, and their hypocrisy discovered. Howbeit what I teach, and what my learning is concerning the law, ye shall shortly hear, and that in few words.

Whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But he that doth them and teacheth them, the same shall be great in the kingdom of heaven.

Whosoever studieth to destroy one of the commandments following, which are yet the least and but childish things, in respect of the perfect doctrine that shall hereafter be shewed, and of the mysteries yet hid in Christ; and teacheth other men even so, in word or ensample, whether openly or under a colour, and through false glosses of hypocrisy; that same doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heaven abhor and despise, and cast him out of their company, as a seething-pot doth cast up her foam and scum, and purge herself. So fast shall they of the kingdom of heaven cleave unto the pure law of God, without all men's glosses.

*Glosses.*

*They that destroy the law of God with glosses must be cast out.*

But whosoever shall first fulfil them himself, and then teach other, and set all his study to the furtherance and maintaining of them, that doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heaven have in price, and follow him and seek him out, as doth an eagle her prey, and cleave to him as hurrs. For these commandments are but the very law of Moses, (the

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. has *which the scribes, &c. have smeared to.*]

draff of the Pharisees' glosses cleansed out,) interpreted according to the pure word of God, and as the open text compelleth to understand them, if ye look diligently thereon.

The church.  
W. T.

The kingdom of heaven take for the congregation or church of Christ. And to be of the kingdom of heaven is to know God for our Father, and Christ for our Lord and Saviour from all sin. And to enter into this kingdom it is impossible, except the heart of men be to keep the commandments of God purely; as it is written, "If any man will obey his will," that is to say, the will of the Father that sent me, saith Christ, "he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of mine own head." For if thine heart be to do the will of God, which is his commandments, he will give thee a pure eye, both to discern the true doctrine from the false, and the true doctor from the howling hypocrite. And therefore he saith,

Law.

John vii.  
Except a  
man love  
God's law, he  
cannot under-  
stand the  
doctrine of  
Christ.  
W. T.

For I say unto you, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The righte-  
ousness of  
Pharisees.  
W. T.

The righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. The kingdom of heaven is the true knowledge of God and Christ: *ergo*, the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees neither knoweth God nor Christ. He that is willing to obey the will of God, understandeth the doctrine of Christ, as it is proved above: the scribes and the Pharisees understand not the doctrine of Christ: *ergo*, they have no will nor lust to obey the will of God. To obey the will of God is to seek the glory of God: for the glory of a master is the meek obedience of his servants; the glory of a prince is the humble obedience of his subjects; the glory of an husband is the chaste obedience of his wife; the glory of a father is the loving obedience of his children. The scribes and the Pharisees have no lust to obey the will of God: *ergo*, they seek not the glory of God. Furthermore, the scribes and the Pharisees seek their own glory: they that seek their own glory, preach their own doctrine: *ergo*, the scribes and Pharisees preach their own doctrine. The major thou hast Matt. xxiii.: the scribes and Pharisees "do all their works to be seen of men: they love to sit uppermost at feasts, and to have the chief seats in the synagogues,

Glory.

He that  
seeketh his  
own glory  
teacheth his  
own doctrine,  
and not his  
master's.  
W. T.  
Matt. xxiii.

and salutations in the open markets, and to be called rabbi."

And the minor followeth the text above rehearsed, "He that John vii. speaketh of himself," or of his own head, "seeketh his own glory:" that is to say, he that preacheth his own doctrine is ever known by seeking his own glory: so that it is a general rule to know that a man preacheth his own doctrine, if he seek his own glory.

Some men will haply say, The scribes and Pharisees had no other law than Moses and the prophets, nor any other scripture; and grounded their sayings thereon. That is

truth: how then preached they their own doctrine? Verily it

followeth in the said seventh of John: "He that seeketh the glory of him that sent him, the same is true, and there is no unrighteousness in him;" that is to say, he will do his master's

He that seeketh his own glory, altereth his master's message. W. T.

message truly, and not alter it: where contrariwise, he that seeketh his own glory, will be false when he is sent, and will alter his master's message, to turn his master's glory unto his own self. Even so did the scribes and Pharisees alter the word

Word.

of God for their own profit and glory. And when God's word is altered with false glosses, it is no more God's word. As

God's word altered is not his word. W. T.

when God saith, "Love thy neighbour," and thou putteth to thy leaven, and sayest, "If my neighbour do me no hurt, nor say me nay, I am bound to love him; but not to give him, at his need, my goods which I have gotten with my sore labour;" now this is thy law, and not God's. God's law is pure and single, "Love thy neighbour," whether he be good or bad: and by love God meaneth to help at need. Now

To love is to help at need. W. T.

when God biddeth thee to get thy living, and somewhat over to help him that cannot, or at a time hath not wherewith to help himself; if thou, and thirty or forty with thee, get you to wilderness, and not only help not your neighbours, but also rob a great number of two or three thousand pounds yearly, how love ye your neighbours? Such men help the

world with prayer, thou wilt say to me. Thou wert better to say, 'they rob the world with their hypocrisy,' say I to thee; and it is truth indeed that they so do. For if I stick

The prayer of monks robbeth, and helpeth not. W. T.

up to the middle in the mire, like to perish without present help, and thou stand by and wilt not succour me, but kneelest down and prayest, will God hear the prayers of such an hypocrite? God biddeth thee so to love me, that thou put thyself in jeopardy to help me; and that thine heart, while

John ix.

thy body laboureth, do pray and trust in God that he will assist thee, and through thee to save me. An hypocrite, that will put neither body nor goods in peril for to help me at my need, loveth me not, neither hath compassion on me; and therefore his heart cannot pray, though he wag his lips never so much. It is written, "If a man be a worshipper of God, and do his will," which is the true worship, "him God heareth." Now the will of God is, that we love one another, to help at need: and such lovers he heareth, and not subtle hypocrites. As love maketh thee help me at my need; so when it is past thy power to help, it maketh thee pray to God. Even so where is no love, to make thee take bodily pain with me, there is no love that maketh thee pray for me; but thy prayer is indeed for thy belly, which thou lovest.

Love pray-eth. W. T.

Scribes and Pharisees, what they were. W. T.

What were the scribes and Pharisees? The scribes, besides that they were Pharisees, as I suppose, were also officers; as our bishops, chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and officials. And the Pharisees were religious men<sup>1</sup>, which had professed, not as now, one Dominick's, the other Francis', another Bernard's rules, but even to hold the very law of God, with prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds; and were the flower and perfection of all the Jews: as St Paul rejoiceth of himself, saying, "I was an Hebrew, and concerning the law a Pharisee, and concerning the righteousness of the law I was faultless." They were more honourable than any sect of the monks with us, whether Observant, or Ancro<sup>2</sup>, or whatsoever other be had in price.

Phil. iii.

The Pharisees might better have proved themselves the true church, than our spirituality may. W. T.

These might much better have rejoiced to have been the true church, and to have had the Spirit of God, and that they could not have erred, than they whom all the world seeth

[1 Religious men, or men of religion, having become equivalent to members of some monastic order, Tyndale uses the word here to taunt the monks.]

[2 Ancro, i.e. anchorite: a name derived from the profession of retiring entirely out of the world into some solitude. *Tria sunt in Ægypto genera monachorum. Primum cœnobitæ, quod illi *sauses* gentili lingua vocant, nos in communo viventes possumus appellare. Secundum anachoritæ, quia soli habitant per deserta, et ab eo quod procul ab hominibus recesserint, nuncupantur. Tertium genus est, quod *remoboth* dicunt, deterrimum atque neglectum, et quod in nostra provincia (the country about Bethlehem) aut solum, aut primum est. —Hieron. Ep. ad Eustochium. De Cust. Virg.]*

neither to keep God's laws nor man's, nor yet that devil's law of their own making. For God had made them of the old testament as great promises, that he would be their God, and that his Spirit and all grace should be with them if they kept his laws, as he hath made to us. Now seeing they kept the uttermost jot of the law, in the sight of the world, and were faultless; and seeing thereto that God hath promised neither us nor them aught at all, but upon the profession of keeping his laws; whether were more like to be the right church, and to be taught of the Spirit of God that they could not err, those Pharisees or ours? Might not the general councils of those, and the things there decreed without scripture, seem to be of as great authority as the general councils of ours, and the things there ordained and decreed both clean without, and also against, God's word? Might not the ceremonies which those had added to the ceremonies of Moses, seem to be as holy and well to please God as the ceremonies of ours? The things which they added to the ceremonies of Moses, were of the same kind as those ceremonies were; and no more to be rebuked than the ceremonies of Moses: as for an ensample, if Moses bade wash a table or dish, when an unclean worm had crept thereon, the Pharisees did wash the table with a wet clout before every refection, lest any unclean thing had touched them unawares to all men, as we put unto our tithes a mortuary for all forgotten tithes. What was then the wickedness of the Pharisees? Verily the leaven of their glosses to the moral laws, by which they corrupted the commandments, and made them no more God's; and their false faith in the ceremonies, that the bare work was a sacrifice and a service to God, the significations lost; and the opinion of false righteousness in their prayers, fastings, and alms-deeds, that such works did justify a man before God, and not that God forgiveth sin of his mere mercy, if a man believe, repent, and promise to do his uttermost to sin no more.

When these thus sat in the hearts of the people, with the opinion of virtue, holiness, and righteousness, and their law the law of God; their works, works commanded by God, and confirmed by all his prophets, as prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, and they looked upon as the church of God that could not err; and finally, they themselves either every where were the chief rulers, or so sat in the hearts of the rulers,

The promises are made upon the profession of the keeping of the law of God, so that the church that will not keep God's law, hath no promise that they cannot err. W. T.

The wickedness of the Pharisees, what it was. W. T.

Why the true preacher is accused of treason and heresy. W. T.

Why hypocrisy must be first rebuked, though it be jeopardy to preach against it.  
W. T.

that their word was believed to be the word of God; what other thing could it be, to preach against all such, and to condemn their righteousness for the most damnable sin that can be, than to seem to go about to destroy the law and the prophets? What other thing can such a preacher seem to be, before the blind world, than an heretic, schismatic, seditious, possessed with the devil, and worthy of shame most vile and death most cruel? And yet these must be first rebuked, and their false righteousness detected, ere thou mayest preach against open sinners. Or else, if thou shouldest convert an open sinner from his evil living, thou shouldest make him nine hundred times worse than before: for he would at once be one of these sort, even an Observant, or of some like sect, of which, among an hundred thousand, thou shalt never bring one to believe in Christ; where among open sinners many believe at the hour of death, fall flat upon Christ, and believe in him only, without all other righteousness. It were an hundred thousand times better never to pray, than to pray such lip-prayers; and never to fast or do alms, than to fast, and to do alms, with a mind thereby to be made righteous, and to make satisfaction for the fore sins.

Ye have heard how that it was said to them of old time, Kill not, for whosoever killeth shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you, Whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment: and whosoever saith unto his brother Racha, shall be in danger of a council: but whosoever saith to his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

The law is restored  
W. T.

Here Christ beginneth, not to destroy the law (as the Pharisees had falsely accused him), but to restore it again to the right understanding, and to purge it from the glosses of the Pharisees. He that slayeth shall be guilty, or in danger of judgment: that is to say, if a man murder, his deed testi- fieth against him; there is no more to do than to pronounce sentence of death against him. This text did the Pharisees extend no farther than to kill with the hand and outward members: but hate, envy, malice, churlishness, and to withdraw help at need, to beguile and circumvent with wiles and subtle bargaining, was no sin at all. No; to bring him whom thou hatest to death with craft and falsehood, so thou didst

The Pharisees did extend their doings or acts to the outward shew or deed, and nothing to the heart.

not put thine hand thereto, was no sin at all: as when they had brought Christ to death wrongfully, and compelled Pilate with subtilty to slay him, they thought themselves pure; in-somuch that they would not go into the hall, for defiling themselves, and being partakers with Pilate in his blood. And they said to the apostles, "Ye would bring this man's blood upon us:" as who would say, we slew him not. And Saul (in the first book of the Kings in the eighteenth chapter), being so wrath with David that he would gladly have had him slain, determined yet that he would not defile himself; but to thrust him into the hands of the Philistines, that they might slay him, and he himself abide pure. And as our spirituality now offer a man mercy once, though he have spoken against holy church; only if he will but perjure, and bear a fagot: but if he will not, they do but diet him a season, to win him, and make him tell more; and deliver him to the lay power, saying, He hath deserved death by our laws, and ye ought to kill him, howbeit we desire it not.

But Christ restoreth the law again; and saith, to be angry with thy neighbour is to slay him, and to deserve death. For the law goeth as well on the heart as on the hand. "He that hateth his brother is a murderer." If then the blind hand deserve death, how much more those parts which have the sight of reason! And he that saith Racha<sup>1</sup>, 'Lewd,' or whatsoever sign of wrath it be, or that provoketh to wrath, hath not only deserved that men should immediately pronounce sentence of death upon him; but also that, when death is pronounced, they should gather a council, to decree what horrible death he should suffer. And he that calleth his brother fool hath sinned down to hell.

Shall then a man not be angry at all, nor rebuke or punish? Yes, if thou be a father or a mother, master or mistress, husband, lord, or ruler; yet with love and mercy, that the anger, rebuke, or punishment, exceed not the fault or trespass. May a man be angry with love? Yea, mothers can be so with their children. It is a loving anger, that hateth only the vice, and studieth to mend the person. But

[<sup>1</sup> רַקָּה *Raka*; a word expressive of the greatest contempt; very much used by the rabbinical writers, and very common in the mouth of their people.—Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Matt. v. 22.]

Acts v.

1 Sam. xviii.

The law of God goeth as well on the heart as the hand.

1 John iii.

Racha.

How a man may be angry without sinning. W. T.

here is forbidden not only wrath against father, mother, and all that have governance over thee, which is to be angry, and to grudge against God himself, and that the ruler shall not be wrath without a cause against the subject; but also all private wrath against thy neighbour, over whom thou hast no rule, nor he over thee, no, though he do thee wrong. For he that doth wrong lacketh wit and discretion; and cannot amend, till he be informed and taught lovingly. Therefore thou must refrain thy wrath, and tell him his fault lovingly, and with kindness win him to thy Father: for he is thy brother, as well made and as dear bought as thou, and as well beloved, though he be yet childish and lack discretion.

Love is the  
keeping of  
the law.  
W. T.

But some will say, I will not hate my neighbour, nor yet love him or do him good. Yes, thou must love him: for the first commandment, out of which all other flow, is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might:" that is, thou must keep all his commandments with love. Love must keep thee from killing or hurting thy neighbour, and from coveting in thine heart whatsoever is his. And "this commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God love his brother also." And again, "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother have necessity, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how is the love of God in him?" He then that helpeth not at need, loveth not God, but breaketh the first commandment. "Let us love," therefore, saith St John, "not with word and tongue, but in deed and truth." And again, St John saith in the said place, "He that loveth not his brother abideth yet still in death." And of love hath Moses texts enough: but the Pharisees glossed them out, saying, they were but good counsels, if a man desired to be perfect, but not precepts. "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt in any wise bring them to him again." And, "If thou see thine enemy's ass fall down under his burden, thou shalt help him up again." And, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart, but shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear no sin for his sake<sup>1</sup>."

Lev. xix.  
He that help-  
eth not to  
amend sin-  
ners, must  
suffer with  
them when  
they be  
punished.  
W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> The authorised version has, 'that thou bear not sin for him,' in its margin.]



For if thou study not to amend thy neighbour, when he sinneth, so art thou partaker of his sins; and therefore, when God taketh vengeance and sendeth whatsoever plague it be, to punish open sinners, thou must perish with them. For thou didst sin in the sight of God as deep as they; because thou didst not love the law of God, to maintain it with all thine heart, soul, power, and might. Is not he that seeth his neighbour's house in jeopardy to be set on fire, and warneth not, nor helpeth in time, to avoid the peril, worthy (if his neighbour's house be burnt up) that his be burnt also; seeing it was in his power to have kept all out of jeopardy, if he had would; as he would, no doubt, if he had loved his neighbour? Even so, when God sendeth a general pestilence or war to thy city, to punish the sin thereof; art thou not worthy that thine house should be infected or perish, if thou mightest have kept it from sinning, and thou hadst been willing thereto? But if thou do thy best to further the law of God, and to keep thy land or neighbours from sinning against God; then (though it help not) thou shalt bear no sin for their sakes when they be punished. He therefore that loveth the law of God, may be bold in time of pestilence and all jeopardy to believe in God. And again in the same place, "Thou shalt not avenge thyself, nor bear hate in mind against the children of thy people; but shalt love thy fellow as thyself. I am the Lord." As who should say, For my sake shalt thou do it. And, "The Lord your God is the God of gods and Lord of lords, a great God, mighty and terrible, which regardeth no man's person or degree, nor taketh gifts; but doth right to the fatherless and the widow, and loveth the stranger, to give him raiment and food. Love therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." And, "If a stranger sojourn by thee in your land, see that ye vex him not. But let the stranger, that dwelleth among you, be as one of yourselves, and love him as thyself: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord." As who should say, Love him for my sake.

In doing our best to further our neighbour in virtue (although we prevail not) we are excused.

Deut. x.

Lev. xix.

Notwithstanding, when thy neighbour hath shewed thee more unkindness than God hath love, then mayest thou hate him, and not before; but must love him for God's sake, till he fight against God, to destroy the name and glory of God.

When a man may hate his neighbour.  
W. T.

Therefore when thou offerest thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go first and reconcile thyself unto thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary at once, while thou art in the way with him; lest thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the minister, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, till thou have paid the uttermost farthing.

Offerings or  
sacrifices,  
what they  
meant.  
W. T.

This text, with the similitude, is somewhat subtle; and bindeth both him that hath offended to reconcile himself as much as in him is, and him that is offended to forgive and be at one. The offerings were signs, and did certify a man that God was at one with him, and was his friend and loved him. For the fat of beasts was offered, and wine thereto, as though God had sat and eaten and drunk with them; and the rest they and their households did eat before God, as though they had ate and drunk with God; and were commanded to be merry and to make good cheer, fully certified that God was at one with them, and had forgot all old offences, and now loved them, that he would fulfil all his promises of mercy with them.

Matt. vi.

Hos. vi.

Isa. lviii.

The fast that  
God requir-  
eth.

Now will God receive no sacrifice (that is to wit, neither forgive, nor fulfil any of his promises), except we be first reconciled unto our brethren, whether we have offended or be offended. In the chapter following thou readest, "If ye forgive, your Father shall forgive you." And, Hos. vi. "I love mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than I do burnt offerings:" that is to say, the knowledge of the appointments made between God and us; what he will have us to do first, and then what he will do for us again. And God refuseth fasting, and punishing of the body, that was coupled with cruelty, and saith, that he desired no such fast; but saith, This fast require I, that ye be merciful and forgive, and clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, &c. "Then call (saith he), and the Lord shall answer: cry, and he shall say, See, here I am."

And that similitude will, that as a man here, if he will no otherwise agree, must suffer the extremity of the law, if he be brought before a judge, (for the judge hath no power to forgive or to remit, but to condemn him in the uttermost

of the law;) even so, if we will not forgive one another here, we shall have judgment of God without all mercy.

And that some make purgatory of the last farthing, they shew their deep ignorance. For first, no similitude holdeth every word and syllable of the similitude. Furthermore, when they dispute, Till he pay the last farthing; *ergo*, he shall pay: but not in hell; *ergo*, in purgatory: a wise reason! Joseph knew not Mary till she had borne her first son; *ergo*, she bare the second; or, he knew her after. I will not forgive thee till I be dead or while I live; *ergo*, I will do it after my death: and a thousand like.

*Last farthing.*  
W. T.

Ye have heard how it was said to them of old time, Commit not adultery. But I say to you, that whosoever looketh on a wife, lusting after her, hath committed advourtry with her already in his heart.

This commandment, 'Commit none adultery,' had the Pharisees blinded and corrupt with their sophistry and leaven, interpreting the concupiscence of the heart, lewd toys, filthy gestures, unclean words, clipping, kissing, and so forth, not to be imputed for sin; but even the act and deed alone: though Moses say in the text, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife,' &c. But Christ putteth to light and salt; and bringeth the precept to his true understanding and natural taste<sup>1</sup> again; and condemneth the root of sin, the concupiscence and consent of the heart. Before the world I am no murderer, till I have killed with mine hand: but before God I kill, if I hate; yea, if I love not, and of love keep me both from doing hurt, and also be ready and prepared to help at need. Even so the consent of the heart, with all other means that follow thereof, be as well advourtry before God as the deed itself.

How corruptly the Pharisees did attribute all evil to the deed only.

Finally, I am an advouterer before God, if I so love not my neighbour, that very love forbid me to covet his wife. "Love is the fulfilling of all commandments." And without love it is impossible to abstain from sinning against my neighbour in any precept, if occasion be given.

Love is the fulfilling of the law.  
W. T.

Carnal love will not suffer a mother to rob her child; no, it maketh her rob herself to make it rich. A natural father shall never lust after his son's wife; no, he careth more for

[<sup>1</sup> So L., but D. has *cast*.]

her chastity than his son doth himself. Even so would love to my neighbour keep me from sinning against him.

Advoutry.  
W. T.

Advoutry is a damnable thing in the sight of God, and much mischief followeth thereof. David, to save his honour, was driven to commit grievous murder also. It is unright, in the sight of God and man, that thy child should be at another man's cost, and be another man's heir: neither canst thou or the mother have lightly a quiet conscience to God, or a merry heart, as long as it so is. Moreover what greater shame canst thou do thy neighbour, or what greater displeasure? What if it never be known, nor come any child thereof? The preciouslest gift that a man hath of God in this world is the true heart of his wife, to abide by him in wealth and woe, and to bear all fortunes with him. Of that hast thou robbed him; for after she hath once coupled herself to thee, she shall not lightly love him any more so truly; but haply hate him, and procure his death. Moreover thou hast untaught her to fear God, and hast made her to sin against God: for to God promised she, and not to man only; for the law of matrimony is God's ordinance. For it is written, when Potiphar's wife would have Joseph to lie with her, he answered: "How could I do this wickedness and sin against God?" Yea, verily; it is impossible to sin against man, except thou sin against God first. Finally, read chronicles and stories, and see what hath followed of adultery.

Gen. xxxix.

Some doctors  
have doubted  
in that  
which Christ  
hath flatly  
condemned.

1 Cor. vi.

What shall we say, that some doctors have disputed and doubted whether single fornication should be sin, when it is condemned both by Christ and Moses too? And Paul testifieth, that no fornicator, or whorekeeper, shall possess the kingdom of God. It is right that all men, that hope in God, should bring up their fruit in the fear and knowledge of God; and not to leave his seed where he careth not what come thereof.

Wherefore if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is better for thee that one of thy members perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And even so if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee. For it is better for thee that one of thy members perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

This is not meant of the outward members. For then we must cut off nose, ears, hand and foot; yea, we must

procure to destroy the seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling, and so every man kill himself. But it is a phrase or speech of the Hebrew tongue, and will that we cut off occasions, dancing, kissing, riotous eating and drinking, and the lust of the heart, and filthy imaginations, that move a man to concupiscence. Let every man have his wife, and think her the fairest and the best-conditioned, and every woman her husband so too. For God hath blessed thy wife, and made her without sin to thee, which ought to seem a beautiful fairness. And all that ye suffer together, the one with the other, is blessed also, and made the very cross of Christ, and pleasant in the sight of God. Why should she then be loathsome to thee, because of a little suffering, that thou shouldest lust after another, that should defile thy soul, and slay thy conscience, and make thee suffer everlastingly?

Filthy.  
W. T.

A wife, how  
good a thing.  
W. T.

It is said, whosoever putteth away his wife, let him give her a testimonial of the divorcement. But I say unto you, whosoever putteth away his wife (except it be for fornication) maketh her to break wedlock; and whosoever marrieth the divorced, breaketh wedlock.

Moses permitted his Israelites in extreme necessity, as when they so hated their wives that they abhorred the company of them, then to put them away, to avoid a worse inconvenience; whereof ye read also Matt. xix. And he knit thereto, that they might not receive them again, after they had been known of any other persons. Which licence the Jews abused, and put away their wives for every light or feigned cause, and whensoever they lusted. But Christ calleth back again, and interpreteth the law after the first ordinance, and cutteth off all causes of divorcement, save fornication of the wife's party, when she breaketh her matrimony; in which case Moses's law pronounceth her dead, and so do the laws of many other countries: which laws, where they be used, there is a man free without all question. Now where they be let live, there the man (if he see sign of repentance and amendment) may forgive for once. If he may not find in his heart (as Joseph, as holy as he was, could not find in his heart to take Christ's mother to him, when he spied her with child), he is free no doubt to take another, while the law interpreteth her dead: for her sin ought of no right to bind him.

Deut. xxiiv

Matt. xix.

The office of  
a preacher.  
W. T.

What shall the woman do, if she repent and be so tempted in her flesh that she cannot live chaste? Verily I can shew you nothing out of the scripture. The office of the preacher is, to preach the ten commandments, which are the law natural; and to promise them which submit themselves to keep them, of love and fear of God, everlasting life for their labour through faith in Christ; and to threaten the disobedient with everlasting pain in hell. And his<sup>1</sup> punishment is, if any man have offended through frailty, and when he is rebuked turn and repent, to receive him unto grace, and absolve him; and if any man will not amend when he is rebuked, to cast him out among the infidels. This I say, if the temporal power shut her up as a convict person, appointing her a sober living, to make satisfaction to the congregation for her damnable example, they did not amiss. It is better that one misdoer suffer, than that a commonwealth be corrupt.

What followeth the keeping of the law. W. T.

Where the officers be negligent, and the woman not able to put herself to penance, if she went where she is not known, and there marry, God is the God of mercy. If any man in the same place where she trespasseth pitied her, and married her, I could suffer it; were it not that the liberty would be the next way to provoke all other that were once weary of their husbands to commit adultery, for to be divorced from them, that they might marry other which they loved better. Let the temporal sword take heed to their charge therefore. For this is truth: all the temporal blessings set in the law of Moses for keeping their laws, as wealth and prosperity, long life, the upper hand of their enemies, plenteousness of fruits, and cheap of all things, and to be without pestilence, war and famishment, and all manner other abominable diseases and plagues, pertain to us as well as to them, if we keep our temporal laws.

What followeth the breaking of the law. W. T.

And all the curses and terrible plagues which are threatened throughout the law of Moses, as hunger, dearth, war and dissension, pestilence, fevers, and wonderful and strange fearful diseases, as the sweat, plague, and falling sickness, shortening of days, that the sword, hunger, and such diseases shall eat them up in their youth, that their enemies should have the upper hand, that the people of the land should be diminished, and the towns decayed, and the land brought unto

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. *this*.]

a wilderness, and that a plenteous land should be made barren, or so ordered that dearth should devour the inhabitants, and wealth be among few that should oppress the rest, with a thousand such like, so that nothing they begin should have a prosperous end; all those curses (I say) pertain to us as well as to them, if we break our temporal laws.

Let England look about them, and mark what hath chanced them, since they slew their right king whom God had anointed over them, king Richard the Second. Their people, towns, and villages are minished by the third part; and of their noble blood remaineth not the third, nor I believe the sixth, yea, and if I durst be bold, I wene I might safely swear that there remaineth not the sixteenth part. Their own sword hath eaten them up. And though pastures be enlarged above all measure, yet rot of sheep, murrain of beasts, with parks and warrens, with raising of fines and rent, make all things twice so dear as they were. And our own commodities are so abused, that they be the destruction of our own realm.

The enormities that hath chanced since the slaughter of king Richard the second unto this realm of England.

And right: for if we will not know God to keep his laws, how should God know us, to keep us, and to care for us, and to fulfil his promises of mercy unto us? Saith not Paul, (Rom. i.) of the heathen, *Sicut non probaverunt habere Deum in notitia, ita tradidit illos Deus*; As it seemed them not good, or as they had no lust, or as they admitted it not, nor allowed for right in their hearts to know God as God, to give him the honour of God, that is, to fear him as God, and as avenger of all evil, and to seek his will; even so God gave them up to follow their own blindness; and took his Spirit and his grace from them, and would no longer rule their wits? Even so if we cast off us the yoke of our temporal laws, which are the laws of God, and drawn out of the ten commandments and law natural, and out of "Love thy neighbour as thyself;" God shall cast us off and let us slip, to follow our own wit. And then shall all go against us, whatsoever we take in hand: insomuch that when we gather a parliament to reform or amend aught, that we there determine shall be our own snare, confusion, and utter destruction, so that all the enemies we have under heaven could not wish us so great mischief as our own counsel shall do us; God shall so blind the wisdom of the wise. If any man have any godly counsel, it shall

Tyrants: why God giveth us up, and leaveth us in the hands of tyrants and in all misery. W. T. Rom. i.

have none audience: error, madness, and dasing<sup>1</sup> shall have the upper hand.

An admonition. W. T.

And let the spirituality take heed and look well about them, and see whether they walk as they have promised God, and in the steps of his Son Christ, and of his apostles, whose offices they bear. For I promise them, all the devils in hell, if God had let them loose, could not have given them worse counsel than they have given themselves this twenty year long. God gave up his Israelites oftentime, when they would not be ruled, nor know themselves and their duty to God; and brought them into captivity under their enemies, to prove and feel (saith the text) whether were better service, either to serve God, and willingly to obey his law coupled with so manifold blessings; or to serve their enemies, and to obey their cruelty and tyranny (spite of their heads) in need and necessity. And let the temporality remember, that because those nations, under which the Israelites were in captivity, did deal cruelly with them, not to punish them for their idolatry and sin, which they had committed against God, but to have their lands, and goods, and service only, rejoicing to make them worse and more out of their Father's favour; therefore when God had scourged his children enough, he did beat the other for their labour.

What rulers ought to do, touching such as run and fly from their wives without just cause.

But to our purpose: what if the man run from his wife and leave her desolate? Verily, the rulers ought to make a law, if any do so and come not again by a certain day, as within the space of a year or so, that then he be banished the country; and if he come again, to come on his head, and let the wife be free to marry where she will. For what right is it that a lewd wretch should take his goods, and run from his wife without a cause, and sit by a whore, yea, and come again after a year or two (as I have known it) and rob his wife of that she hath gotten in the mean time, and go again to his whore? Paul saith to the Corinthians, that if a man or woman be coupled with an infidel, and the infidel depart, the other is free to marry where they lust. And he saith: "If there be any man that provideth not for his, and namely for them of his own household, the same denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel." And even so is this man much more to be interpreted for an infidel, that causeless

Tim. v.

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. *daunsyng*.]



runneth from his wife. Let, I say, the governors take heed how they let sin be unpunished, and how they bring the wrath of God upon their realms. For God will be avenged of all iniquity, and punish it with plagues from heaven.

In like manner, if the woman depart causeless and will not be reconciled, though she commit none adultery, the man ought of right to be free to marry again. And in all other causes, if they separate themselves of impatience that the one cannot suffer the other's infirmities, they must remain unmarried.

If any part burn, let the same suffer the pain or infirmities of the other. And the temporality ought to make laws to bridle the unruly party.

Again, ye have heard how it was said to them of old time, forswear not thyself, but pay thine oaths unto the Lord. But I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is the seat of God; neither by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king; neither shalt thou swear by thine head, for thou canst not make a white hair or a black. But your communication shall be, Yea, yea, nay, nay. For if aught be above that, it proceedeth of evil.

As to hate in the heart, or to covet another man's wife, <sup>Swearing.</sup> <sup>W. T.</sup> was no sin with the Pharisees; no more was it to hide one thing in the heart, and to speak another with the mouth, to deceive a man's neighbour, if it were not bound with an oath. And though Moses say, 'Lie not, nor deceive any <sup>Levit. xix.</sup> man his neighbour' or one another; yet they interpreted it but good counsel, if a man desired to be perfect; but no precept, to bind under pain of sin: and so by that means, not only they that spake true, but also they that lied to deceive, were compelled to swear and to confirm their words with oaths, if they would be believed.

But Christ bringeth light and salt to the text, which the Pharisees had darkened and corrupt with the stinking mist of their sophistry, and forbiddeth to swear at all, either by God or any creature of God's; for thou canst swear by none other <sup>To swear by God.</sup> <sup>W. T.</sup> at all, except the dishonour shall redound unto the name of God. If thou swear 'By God it is so,' or 'By God I will do this or that;' the meaning is, that thou makest God judge, to avenge it of thee, if it be not as thou sayest, or if thou shalt not do as thou promisest. Now if truth be not in thy

words, thou shamest thine heavenly Father, and testifiest that thou believest that he is no righteous judge, nor will avenge unrighteousness; but that he is wicked as thou art, and consenteth and laugheth at thee, while thou deceivest thy brother, as well created after the likeness of God, and as dear bought with the precious blood of Christ, as thou. And thus through thee, a wicked son, is the name of thy Father dishonoured, and his law not feared, nor his promises believed. And when thou swearest by the gospel book, or bible, the meaning is, that God, if thou lie, shall not fulfil unto thee the promises of mercy therein written; but contrariwise to bring unto thee all the curses, plagues and vengeance therein threatened unto the disobedient and evil doers. And even so when thou swearest by any creature, as by bread or salt, the meaning is, that thou desirest, that the creator thereof shall avenge it of thee, if thou lie, &c. Wherefore our dealing ought to be so substantial, that our words might be believed without an oath. Our words are the signs of the truth of our hearts, in which ought to be pure and single love toward thy brother; for whatsoever proceedeth not of love is damnable. Now falsehood to deceive him, and pure love, cannot stand together. It cannot therefore be but damnable sin to deceive thy brother with lying, though thou add no oath to thy words. Much more damnable is it then to deceive, and to add an oath thereto, &c.

Men ought  
so to deal  
that their  
words may  
be credited  
without any  
oaths.

Swearing, in  
what sort it  
is lawful.

Howbeit all manner of swearing is not here forbidden, no more than all manner of killing, when the commandment saith, "Kill not;" for judges and rulers must kill. Even so ought they, when they put any man in office, to take an oath of him that he shall be true and faithful and diligent therein; and of their subjects it is lawful to take oaths, and of all that offer themselves to bear witness. But if the superior would compel the inferior to swear that [which] should be to the dishonour of God, or hurting of an innocent, the inferior ought rather to die than to swear: neither ought a judge to compel a man to swear against himself, that he make him not sin and forswear; whereof it is enough spoken in another place. But here is forbidden swearing between neighbour and neighbour, and in all our private business and daily communication. For customable swearing, though we lied not, doth rob the name of God of his due reverence and fear. And in our daily commu-

nication and business one with the other is so much vanity of words, that we cannot but in many things lie; which to confirm with an oath, though we beguile not, is to take the name of God in vain, and unreverently, against the second precept. Now to lie for the intent to beguile is damnable of itself: how much more then to abuse the holy name of God thereto, and to call to God for vengeance upon thine own self!

Many cases yet there chance daily between man and man, in which charity compelleth to swear: as if I know that my neighbour is falsely slandered, I am bound to report the truth, and may lawfully swear, yea, and am bound if it need, and that though not before a judge. And unto the weak, where yea and nay have lost their credence through the multitude of liars, a man may lawfully swear to put them out of doubt: Oath which yet cometh of the evil of them that abuse their language to deceive withal. Finally, to swear to do evil is damnable; and to perform that is double damnation. Herod's oath made him not innocent and guiltless of the death of John the baptist; though the hypocrite had not known what his wife's daughter would have asked. And when men say a king's word must stand; that is truth, if his oath or promise be lawful and expedient.

Charity moderateth the law.  
W. T.

To perform an evil oath is double sin.  
W. T.

In all our promises it is to be added, "If God will," and, "If there be no lawful let." And though it be not added, it is to be interpreted, as added. As if I borrow thy sword, and by the hour I promise to bring it thee again, thou be beside thyself: if I promise to pay by a certain day, and be in the mean time robbed or decayed by chance, that I cannot perform it: I am not forsworn if mine heart meant truly when I promised. And many like cases there be, of which are touched in other places. To lie also, and to dissemble, is not alway sin. David told king Achish, the Philistine, that he had robbed his own people the Jews, when he had been a roving among the Amalekites, and had slain man, woman, and child for telling tales; and yet was that lie no more sin, than it was to destroy the Amalekites, those deadly enemies of the faith of one almighty God. Neither sinned Hushai, David's trusty friend, in feigning and beguiling Absalom, but pleased God highly. To bear a sick man in hand that wholesome bitter medicine is sweet, to make him drink it, it is the duty of charity, and no sin. To persuade him that pursueth his

He is not forsworn, whose heart meant truly when he promised.

To lie or dissemble in some causes not culpable.  
1 Sam. xxvii.

2 Sam. xvii.

neighbour to hurt him or slay him, that his neighbour is gone another contrary way, is the duty of every Christian man by the law of charity, and no sin; no, though I confirmed it with an oath<sup>1</sup>. But to lie for to deceive and hurt, that is damnable only, &c.

Ye have heard, how it is said, An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye withstand not wrong. But if a man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak thereto. And if any man compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away.

Christ here intended not to disannul the temporal regiment, and to forbid rulers to punish evil doers, no more than he meant to destroy matrimony when he forbade to lust and to covet another man's wife in the<sup>2</sup> heart. But as he there forbade that which defileth matrimony, even so he forbiddeth here that which troubleth, unquieteth, and destroyeth the temporal regiment, and that thing which to forbid the temporal regiment was ordained; which is, that no man avenge himself. Christ meddleth not with the temporal regiment; but in all this long sermon fighteth against the Pharisees' false doctrine, and salteth the law, to purge it of the corruption of their filthy glosses, and to bring it unto the right taste and true understanding again.

For the Pharisees had so interpreted that law of Moses, which pertained only unto the rulers, that every private person might avenge himself, and do his adversary as much harm again as he had received of him.

Now if he that is angry have deserved that men pronounce death upon him; and he that saith Racha, hath deserved that men should gather a council to determine some sundry and cruel death for so heinous a crime; and if he that calleth his brother fool have deserved hell, what deserveth he that smiteth or avengeth himself with his own hand? Here is forbidden therefore private wrath only, and that a man avenge himself.

To turn the other cheek, is a manner of speaking, and not to be understood as the words sound; as was to cut off

To turn the other cheek; what it is. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> The apostle says that they who should say, 'Let us do evil, that good may come,' would justly be condemned.]

[<sup>2</sup> So D., but L. *thy*.]

the hand, and to pluck out the eye; and as we command our children not only not to come nigh a brook or water, but also not so hardy as once to look that way, either to look on fire, or once to think on fire; which are impossible to be observed. More is spoken than meant, to fear them; and to make them perceive that it is earnest that we command. Even so is the meaning here, that we in no wise avenge; but be prepared ever to suffer as much more, and never to think it lawful to avenge, how great soever the injury be: for he himself turned not the other cheek, when he was smitten before the bishop; nor yet Paul, when he was huffed before the hishop also. But ye have had a little above, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth." Meekness.

Let all the world study to do thee wrong, yea, let them do thee wrong; and yet if thou be meek, thou shalt have food and raiment enough for thee and thine. And moreover, if the worst come, God shall yet set such a tyrant over thee, that (if thou be meek and canst be content that he poll thee properly, and even as thou mayest bear) shall defend thee from all other. Who is polled intolerably, that his life is bitter and even death to him, but he that is impatient and cannot suffer to be polled? Yea, poll thyself and prevent other; and give the hailiff or like officer now a capon, now a pig, now a goose, and so to thy landlord likewise; or if thou have a great farm, now a lamb, now a calf; and let thy wife visit thy landlady three or four times in the year with spiced cakes, and apples, pears, cherries, and such like. And be thou ready with thine oxen or horses, three or four, or half a dozen days in the year, to fetch home their wood, or to plough their land: yea, and if thou have a good horse, let them have him good cheap<sup>3</sup>, or take a worse for him; and they shall be thy shield and defend thee, though they be tyrants and care not for God, that no man else shall dare poll thee. And thereto thou mayest with wisdom get of them that [which] shall recompense all that thou doest to them. All this I mean, if thou be patient, and wise, and fear God thereto, and love thine neighbour, and do none evil. For if thou keep thyself in favour with hurting thy neighbour, thine end will be evil, and at the last desperation in this world, and hell after.

Poling, how  
to avoid it.  
W. T.

[<sup>3</sup> See P.S. I. p. 122.]

But and if thou canst not poll thyself with wisdom, and laugh, and bear a good countenance, as though thou rejoicest while such persons poll thee, every man shall poll thee; and they shall maintain them, and not defend thee. Let this therefore be a common proverb—‘Be contented to be polled of some man; or to be polled of every man.’

Two manner  
states and de-  
grees of re-  
giments.  
W. T.

Ye must understand that there be two states or degrees in this world: the kingdom of heaven, which is the regiment of the gospel; and the kingdom of this world, which is the temporal regiment. In the first state there is neither father, mother, sòn, daughter; neither master, mistress, maid, manservant, nor husband, nor wife, nor lord, nor subject, nor man, nor woman: but Christ is all; and each to other is Christ himself. There is none better than other; but all like good, all brethren, and Christ only is Lord over all. Neither is there any other thing to do, or other law, save to love one another as Christ loved us. In the temporal regiment is husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, maid, manservant, lord, and subject.

Every man is  
of the spiri-  
tualty, and  
of the tem-  
poralty, both.  
W. T.

Now is every person a double person; and under both the regiments. In the first regiment, thou art a person for thine own self, under Christ and his doctrine, and mayest neither hate nor be angry, and much less fight or avenge; but must after the ensample of Christ humble thyself, forsake and deny thyself, and hate thyself, and cast thyself away, and be meek and patient, and let every man go over thee, and tread thee under foot and do thee wrong; and yet love them, and pray for them, as Christ did for his crucifiers. For love is all; and what is not of love, that is damnable, and cast out of that kingdom.

He that  
loveth not  
his neigh-  
bour hath  
not the true  
faith of  
Christ.  
W. T.

For that kingdom is the knowledge of God and Christ. But he that loveth not, knoweth neither God nor Christ; therefore he that loveth not, is not of that kingdom. The minor is on this wise proved: he that knoweth God and Christ, seeth light, for Christ is light; but “he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes:” *ergo*, he that hateth his brother knoweth not what Christ hath done for him; and therefore hath no true faith; nor is of the spiritual kingdom of God.

1 John ii.

To hate thyself, that shalt thou get, if thou considerest

thine own sins, and the deep damnation that long<sup>1</sup> thereto, with due repentance. And to love, that thou shalt obtain, if thou behold the great and infinite mercy of God with strong faith; that there is none so great an enemy to thee in this world, but thou shalt lightly<sup>2</sup> love him, if thou look well on the love that God shewed thee in Christ.

In the temporal regiment, thou art a person in respect of The temporal regiment. other; thou art an husband, father, mother, master, mistress, lord, ruler, or wife, son, daughter, servant, subject, &c. And there thou must do according to thine office. If thou be a father, thou must do the office of a father, and rule, or else thou damnest thyself. Thou must bring all under obedience, whether by fair means or foul. Thou must have obedience of thy wife, of thy servants, and of thy subjects; and the other must obey. If they will not obey with love, thou must chide and fight, as far as the law of God and the law of the land will suffer thee. And when thou canst not rule them, thou art bound in many cases to deliver them unto the higher officer, of whom thou didst take the charge over them.

Now to our purpose, whether a man may resist violence, and defend or avenge himself. I say nay, in the first state, where thou art a person for thyself alone, and Christ's disciple. Not to resist violence, how it is understood. W. T. There thou must love, and of love do, study, and enforce; yea, and suffer all things (as Christ did) to make peace, that the blessing of God may come upon thee, which saith: "Blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be the children of God." If thou suffer and keepest peace in thyself only, thy blessing is the possession of this world. But if thou so love the peace of thy brethren, that thou leave nothing undone or unsuffered to further it, thy blessing is, thou shalt be God's son, and consequently possess heaven.

But in the worldly state, where thou art no private man, but a person in respect of other, thou not only mayest, but also must, and art bound under pain of damnation to execute thine office. Where thou art a father, thou must have obedience by fair means or by foul; and to whom thou art an husband, of her thou must require obedience and chastity, and, to get that, attempt all that the law of the land commandeth and will. And of thy servants thou must exact

[<sup>1</sup> That is, belongs.]

[<sup>2</sup> Without difficulty.]

Rulers must punish, not for malice, but for defence of the people, and maintenance of the laws.

obedience and fear, and mayest not suffer thyself to be despised. And where thou art a ruler thereto appointed, thou must take, prison, and slay too; not of malice and hate, to avenge thyself, but to defend thy subjects, and to maintain thine office.

Concerning thyself, oppress not thy subjects with rent, fines, or custom at all, neither pill them with taxes and such like, to maintain thine own lusts: but be loving and kind to them, as Christ was to thee; for they be his, and the price of his blood. But those that are evil doers among them and vex their brethren, and will not know thee for their judge and fear thy law, them smite, and upon them draw thy sword, and put it not up until thou hast done thine office; yet without hate to the person, for his master's sake, and because he is in the first regiment thy brother, but to amend him only; or if it cannot be but that thou must lose one to save many, then execute thine office with such affection, with such compassion and sorrow of heart, as thou wouldest cut off thine own arm to save the rest of the body.

An example of the two regiments.

Take an example: thou art in thy father's house among thy brethren and sisters. There if one fight with another, or if any do thee wrong, thou mayest not avenge nor smite; for that pertaineth to thy father only. But if thy father give thee authority in his absence, and command thee to smite if they will not be ruled, now thou art another person. Notwithstanding yet thou hast not put off the first person, but art a brother still, and must ever love, and prove all thing to rule with love: but if love will not serve, then thou must use the office of the other person, or sin against thy father. Even so, when thou art a temporal person, thou puttest not off the spiritual. Therefore thou must ever love; but when love will not help, thou must with love execute the office of the temporal person, or sin against God. A mother can smite and love: and so mayest thou with love execute the office of thy second state. And the wife, son, servant, and subject are brethren in the first state, and put not that person off by reason of the second degree; and therefore must they love ever, and with love pay custom, tribute, fear, honour and obedience to whom they belong, as Paul teacheth, Rom. xiii. And though the other do not his duty and love thee, but rule thee with rigorousness, and deal unkindly with thee, thou not deserving; yet cleave thou to

Whatever thou art bound to do, do it with love. Rom. xiii.



Christ, and love still ; and let not his evil overcome thy goodness and make thee evil also.

And as, after the example above, thy father hath power over thee, to command thee to use his power over thy brethren, even so hath thy master, to give thee his authority over thy fellows : which when thou hast, thou must remember that thou art a fellow still, and bound to love still ; but if love alone will not help, then put thy master's authority unto thy love. And so hath the ruler power over thee, to send thee to use violence upon thy neighbour, to take him, to prison him, and haply to kill him too. And thou must ever love thy neighbour in thine heart, by the reason that he is thy brother in the first state ; and yet obey thy ruler and go with the constable or like officer, and break open thy neighbour's door, if he will not open it in the king's name : yea, and if he will not yield in the king's name, thou must lay on, and smite him to the ground till he be subdued. And look, what harm he getteth, yea, though he be slain, that be on his own head. For thine heart loved him ; and thou desiredst him lovingly to obey, and hast not avenged thyself in that state where thou art a brother : but in the worldly state, where thou art another manner person, in this case thou hast executed the authority of him that hath such power of God to command thee ; and where thou wert damned of God, if thou didst not obey.

And like is it, if thy lord or prince send thee a warfare into another land ; thou must obey at God's commandment, and go, and avenge thy prince's quarrel, which thou knowest not but that it is right. And when thou comest thither, remember what thou art in the first state with them against whom thou must fight, how that they be thy brethren, and as deeply bought with Christ's blood as thou, and for Christ's sake to be beloved in thine heart. And see that thou desire neither their life or goods, save to avenge thy prince's quarrel, and to bring them under thy prince's power. And be content with thy prince's wages, and with such part of the spoil (when thou hast won) as thy prince or his deputy appointeth thee. For if thou hate them in thine heart, and covet their goods, and art glad that an occasion is found (thou carest not whether it be right or wrong) that thou mayest go a robbing and murdering unpunished : then art thou a murderer in the

How to be a warrior.  
W. T.

Thou mayest fight with, or slay thine enemies, and yet love them.

sight of God, and thy blood will be shed again for it, either in the same war following; or when thou art come home, as thou there didst in thine heart, so shalt thou rob and steal, and be hanged for thy labour, or slain by some other mischief.

Goods.  
W. T.

Now concerning the goods of this world, it is easy to judge. In the first state or degree thou oughtest to be thankful to Christ, and to love, to give, and to lend to them that are bought with his precious blood, all that thou art able. For all that thou owest to Christ, whose servant thou art to do his will, that must [thou] pay them. And that thou doest to them, that same thou doest to Christ; and that thou art not ready to do for them, that deniest thou to do for Christ. But and any of thy brethren will withhold, or take away by force above that thou mayest spare, by the reason of some office that thou hast in the second state; or invade thee violently, and lay more on thy back than thou canst bear; then hold thine heart and hand, that thou neither hate or smite, and speak fair and lovingly, and let neighbours go between. And when thou hast proved all means of love in vain, then complain to the law and the officer, that is set to be thy father and defend thee, and to judge between thee and thy brother.

To go to law.  
W. T.

Thou wilt say, 'The text forbiddeth me to go to law;' for it saith, "If a man will law with thee and take thy coat, thou must let him have gown and all." 'If I must suffer myself to be robbed by the law,' wilt thou say, 'by what right can I with law recover mine own?' I answer: Behold the text diligently. For by no right of law can a man take thy coat from thee; for the law was ordained of God, to maintain thee in thy right, and to forbid that wrong should be done thee. Wherefore the text meaneth thus, that where the law is unjustly ministered, and the governors and judges corrupt, and take bribes, and be partial, there be patient, and ready to suffer ever as much more, whatsoever unright be done thee, rather than of impatience thou shouldest avenge thyself on thy neighbour, or rail, or make insurrection against the superiors which God hath set over thee. For to rise against them is to rebel against God and against thy Father, when he scourgeth thee for thine offence, and a thousand times more sin than to avenge thee on thy neighbour. And

To rise  
against the  
judge or ma-  
gistrate is to  
resist God.

to rail on them is to rail on God; as though thou wouldest blasphemise him, if he made thee sick, poor, or of low degree, or otherwise than thou wouldest be made thyself.

Thou wilt haply say: 'The subjects ever choose the ruler, and make him swear to keep their law, and to maintain their privileges and liberties, and upon that submit their selves unto him: *ergo*, if he rule amiss, they are not bound to obey; but may resist him, and put him down again.' I answer: Your argument is naught. For the husband sweareth to his wife; yet though he forswear himself, she hath no power to compel him. Also though a master keep not covenant with his servant, or one neighbour with another, yet hath neither servant, no, nor yet neighbour (though he be under none obedience) power to avenge; but the vengeance pertaineth ever to an higher officer, to whom thou must complain.

'Yea, but,' you will say, 'it is not like. For the whole body of the subjects choose the ruler. Now *cujus est ligare, ejus est solvere*<sup>1</sup>: *ergo*, if he rule amiss, they that set him up may put him down again.' I answer: God, and not the common people, chooseth the prince; though he choose him by them. For God commandeth to choose and set up officers; and therefore is God the chief chooser and setter up of them: and so must he be the chief putter down of them again; so that without his special commandment they may not be put down again. Now hath God given no commandment to put them down again: but contrariwise, when we have anointed a king over us at his commandment, he saith, "Touch not mine anointed." And what jeopardy it is to rise against the prince that is anointed over thee, how evil soever he be, see in the story of king David, and throughout all the books of the Kings<sup>2</sup>. The authority of the king is the authority of God; and all the subjects, compared to the king, are but subjects still, though the king be never so evil; as a thousand sons gathered together are but sons still, and the commandment, 'Obey your fathers,' goeth over all as well as over one. Even so goeth the commandment over all the subjects: obey your prince and the higher power, and he that resisteth him, resisteth God, and getteth him damnation. And unto your

Princes, whether they may be resisted or put down of their subjects in any case. W. T.

Deut. xvi.

The king hath God's authority.

[1 Whose office it is to bind, to the same belongs to loosen.]

[2 In this expression the two books of Samuel are to be understood as included.]

An answer to  
the former  
argument.

argument, *Cujus est ligare, ejus est solvere*, I answer: He that bindeth with absolute power, and without any higher authority, his is the might to loose again; but he that bindeth at another man's commandment, may not loose again without the commandment of the same. As they of London choose them a mayor; but may not put him down again, how evil soever he be, without the authority of him with whose licence they chose him. As long as the powers or officers be one under another, if the inferior do thee wrong, complain to the higher. But if the highest of all do thee wrong, thou must complain to God only. Wherefore the only remedy against evil rulers is, that thou turn thine eyes to thyself, and thine own sin, and then look up to God and say: 'O Father, for our sin, and the sin of our fathers, is this misery come upon us: we know not thee as our Father, to obey thee and to walk in thy ways; and therefore thou knowest not us as thy sons, to set loving schoolmasters over us. We hate thy law, and therefore hast thou, through the wickedness of unrighteous judges, made that law that was for our defence to be a tyrant most cruel, and to oppress us, and do us injury above all other kinds of violence and robbing.' And amend thy living, and be meek and patient; and let them rob as much as they will, yet shall God give thee food and raiment, and an honest possession in the earth, to maintain thee and thine withal.

Goods.

The king, as  
he is lord of  
thy body, so  
is he of thy  
goods.

Moreover concerning thy goods, thou must remember how that thou art a person in the temporal regiment; and the king, as he is over thy body, even so is he lord of thy goods, and of him thou holdest them, not for thyself only, but for to maintain thy wife, children, and servants, and to maintain the king, the realm, and the country, and town or city where thou dwellest. Wherefore thou mayest not suffer them to be wasted, that thou were not able to do thy duty; no more than a servant may suffer his master's goods to go to wrack negligently. "For he that provideth not for his, and namely for them of his own household," saith Paul, "denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel." But every man is bound to labour diligently and truly, and therewith so soberly to live, that he may have enough for him and his, and somewhat above for them that cannot labour, or by chance are fallen into necessity: and of that give and lend, and look not for it again; and if that suffice not thy neigh-

bour's necessity, then speak and make labour to thy brethren, to help also. For it is a common proverb, "Many hands make light work;" and many may bear that that one alone cannot.

And thy wife, thy children, and servants, art thou bound to defend. If any man would force thy wife, thy daughter, or thy maid, it is not enough for thee to look on, and say, 'God amend you.' Nay, thou must execute thine office and authority which the king giveth thee. And by the way thou must defend thy master and his goods, and the king's goods, which thou hast to maintain thy wife and household withal, and thine neighbour that goeth with thee, against thieves and murderers. And against all such persons lay about thee, and do as thou wouldest do if thou were under the king's standard against his enemies which had invaded the realm. For all such persons are mortal enemies to the realm; and seek to put down the king, and law, and all together, and to make that it might be lawful to sin unpunished. And of this manner, if thou mark well the difference of these two states and regiments, thou mayest soil all like doubts that shall be laid against thee. Regiments.

Moreover when I say, there be two regiments, the spiritual and the temporal; even so I say that every person, baptized to keep the law of God and to believe in Christ, is under both the regiments, and is both a spiritual person and also a temporal, and under the officers of both the regiments; so that the king is as deep under the spiritual officer, to hear out of God's word what he ought to believe, and how to live, and how to rule, as is the poorest beggar in the realm. And even so the spiritual officer, if he sin against his neighbour, or teach false doctrine, is under the king's or temporal correction, how high soever he be. And look, how damnable it is for the king to withdraw himself from the obedience of the spiritual officer, that is to say, from hearing his duty to do it, and from hearing his vices rebuked to amend them; so damnable is it for the spiritual officer, how high soever he be, to withdraw himself from under the king's correction, if he teach false, or sin against any temporal law. Every man is under both regiments. W. T.  
  
As the spirituality may rebuke kings' vices, so may kings use temporal correction against the spirituality.

Finally, ye must consider that Christ here teacheth his disciples, and them that should be the light and salt in living and doctrine, to shine in the weak and feeble eyes of the A preacher of the gospel may use no violence. W. T.

Rulers do  
repine to hear  
of their  
faults.  
Matt. x.

world, diseased with the megrim<sup>1</sup>, and accustomed to darkness, that without great pain they can behold no light; and to salt their old festered sores, and to fret out the rotten flesh, even to the hard quick, that it smart again; and spare no degree, but tell all men, high and low, their faults, and warn them of the jeopardy, and exhort them to the right way. Now such schoolmasters shall find small favour and friendship with the rulers of this world, or defence in their laws: as Christ warneth them, saying, "I send you out as sheep among wolves. Beware therefore of men; for they shall deliver you up to their councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues" or council-houses, "and ye shall be brought before the chief rulers and kings, for my sake;" and there teacheth them, as here, to arm themselves with patience, and to go forth boldly with a strong faith, and trust in the succour and assistance of God only, and to plant the gospel with all love and meekness, and to water it with their own blood, as Christ did. Thou mayest not, in that state, come with a sword, to defend either thyself or thy gospel, and to compel men to worship thee as God, and to believe what thou wilt. Nay, ye sheep, use no such regiment among wolves. If thou be a sheep, thou art not in evil taking, if thou canst bring to pass that the wolf be content with thy fleece only, and to shear thee yearly.

"Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away." Luke saith, "Give to whosoever asketh thee:" that is to say, wheresoever thou seest need, or seest not the contrary but there may be need; to the uttermost of thy power there open thine heart, and be merciful only. And of mercifulness, set God thy father, and Christ thy lord and master, for an ensample: and enforce to be as like them as thou canst. If thou be merciful, God hath bound himself to be merciful to thee again. Lo, is not this an exceeding great thing, that God, which of no right ought to be bound to his creatures, hath yet put it whole in thine own hands, to bind him against the day of thy tribulation, then to shew thee mercy?

In lending,  
we must  
follow the  
rule of  
mercy.

Concerning lending, proceed by the foresaid rule of mercy. Many, in extreme need, yet ashamed to beg, shall desire thee to lend. Unto such, instead of lending, give; or

[<sup>1</sup> Old editions *mygrim*.]

say thus, 'Lo, here is as much as ye require. If ye can pay it again well, do, and ye shall find me ready against another time, to lend or give (if need be) as much more. But and if ye shall not be able to pay it again, trouble not your conscience, I give it you. We be all one man's children: one man hath bought us all with his blood, and bound us to help one another.' And with so doing thou shalt win the heart of him to thy Father.

Concerning merchandise and chapmen, the less borrowing were among them, the better should the commonwealth be: if it were possible, I would it were, ware for ware; or money for ware; or part money and part ware. But if it will not be, but that a man, to get his living with, must needs lend, and call for it again, to find his household, and to pay his debts; then in the lending be first single and harmless as a dove, and then as wise as a serpent; and take heed to whom thou lendest. If when thou hast lent an honest man, God visit him, and take away his goods, with what chance it be, whether by sea or land, that he is not able to pay thee; then to prison him, or to sue him at the law, or once to speak an unkind word, were against the law of love, and contrary to shewing mercy. There thou must suffer with thy neighbour and brother, as Christ did with thee, and as God doth daily. If an unthrift have beguiled thee, and spent thy goods away, and hath not to pay, then hold thine hand and heart, that thou avenge not thyself: but love him, and pray for him, and remember how God hath promised to bless the patient and meek. Nevertheless, because such persons corrupt the common manners, and cause the name of God the less to be feared, men ought to complain upon such persons to the officer that is ordained of God to punish evil doers, and the officer is bound to punish them. If thou have lent a fox, which with cavillation will keep thy goods from thee; then if the ruler and the law will not help thee to thy right, do as it is above said of him that will go to law with thee, and take thy coat from thee; that is to say, be content to lose that and as much more to it, rather than thou wouldest avenge thyself. Let not the wickedness of other men pluck thee from God; but abide by God and his blessings, and tarry his judgment. Liberality is mercifulness, that bindeth God to be merciful again. Covetousness (the root of all evil,

We must not revenge ourselves upon our evil debtors, but refer our cause to God, and his officers.

Covetousness is the root of all evil.  
James ii.

and father of all false prophets, and the schoolmaster that teaches the messengers of Satan to disguise themselves like to the messengers of Christ) is merciless, that shall have judgment without mercy; and therefore exhorteth Christ all his so diligently, and above all thing, to be liberal and to beware of covetousness.

Ye have heard, how it is said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. Pray for them which do you wrong, and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your heavenly Father. For he maketh his sun to arise over the evil, and over the good, and sendeth rain upon the righteous and unrighteous. For if ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? do not the publicans so? And if ye be friendly to your brethren only, what singular thing do ye? do not the publicans likewise? Ye shall therefore be perfect, as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect.

The enemies of God and his word are to be hated.

This text, of hating a man's enemy, standeth not in any one place of the bible; but is gathered of many places, in which God commandeth the children of Israel to destroy their enemies, the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Amalekites, and other heathen people, as the Moabites, and Ammonites, which sought to bring them out of the favour of God, and to destroy the name of God. The Amalekites came behind them, and slew all that were faint and weary by the way, as they came out of Egypt. The Moabites and Ammonites hired Balaam to curse them, and beguiled them with their women, and made a great plague among them. These and like nations were perpetual enemies to their land which God had given them, and also of the name of God and of their faith: for which cause they not only might lawfully, but were also bound to hate them, and to study their destruction again; howbeit they might not yet hate, of the said nations, such as were converted to their faith.

Lev. xix.

Exod. xxiii.

Now by the reason of such texts as commanded to hate the common enemies of their country, and of God and his law, and of their faith, the Pharisees' doctrine was, that a man might lawfully hate all his private enemies, without exception, nor was bound to do them good. And yet Moses saith, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart." And again, "Thou shalt not avenge thyself, nor bear hate



in thy mind against the children of thy people." And, "If thine enemy's ass sink under his burden, help to lift him up again. And if his ox or ass go astray, bring them home again:" which all, no doubt, the Pharisees did interpret for good counsel, but for no precepts; wherefore Christ salteth their doctrine, and proveth that a man is bound both to love and to do good to his enemy; and as a natural son, though his brethren be never so evil, yet to love them, and shew them kindness for his father's sake, and to study to amend them. What hast thou to rejoice of, if thy religion be no better than the religion of thieves? For thieves love among themselves: and so do the covetous of the world, as the usurers and publicans, which bought in great the emperor's tribute, and, to make their most advantage, did overset the people<sup>1</sup>. Nay, it is not enough for thee to love thy benefactors only, as monks and friars do, and them of thine own coat and order, or the brethren of thine own abbey only; for among some their love stretcheth no farther, and that shall be that is removed out of another cloister thither well find: yea, and in some places charity reacheth not to all the cells of the same cloister, and to all the monks that were professed in the same place. But lift up thine eyes unto thy heavenly Father, and as thy Father doth, so do thou love all thy Father's children. He ministereth sun and rain to good and bad; by which two understand all his benefits: for of the heat and dryth of the sun, and cold and moist of the rain, spring all things that are necessary to the life of man. Even so provoke thou and draw thine evil brethren to goodness, with patience, with love in word and deed; and pray for them to him that is able to make them better and to convert them. And so thou shalt be thy Father's natural son, and perfect, as he is perfect. The text saith not, Ye shall be as perfect as God; but perfect after his example. To be perfect, in the scripture, is not to be a monk or a friar, or never to sin. For Christ teacheth not here monks or friars, but his disciples and every christian man and woman. And to be in this life altogether without sin is impossible. But to be perfect is to have pure doctrine without false opinions, and that thine heart be to follow that learning.

Publicans,  
what they  
were. W. T.

As our heavenly Father  
bestoweth  
his benefits  
upon good  
and bad, so  
ought we to  
love both  
friend and  
foe.

To be perfect,  
what it  
meaneth.  
W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> That is, they bought the gross produce of the tribute; and overcharged the people in the collection of it.]

## AN EXPOSITION OF THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Take heed to your alms, that ye do it not before men, to be seen of them, or else ye get no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou givest alms, make not a trumpet to be blown before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, to be praised of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, that thine alms may be in secret. And then thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

Alms.

Deeds commanded by the scripture, done to any other end than they ought, are no good deeds.

As he rebuked their doctrine above, even so here he rebuketh their works; for out of devilish doctrine can spring no godly works. But what works rebuketh he? Verily such as God in the scripture commandeth, and without which no man can be a christian man; even prayer, fasting, and alms-deed. For as the scripture, corrupt with glosses, is no more God's word, even so the deeds commanded in the scripture (when the intent of them is perverted) are no more godly deeds. What said the scribes and Pharisees of him (think ye) when he rebuked such manner of works? No doubt, as they said, when he rebuked their false glosses, how he destroyed the law and the prophets, interpreting the scripture after the literal sense which killeth, and after his own brain, clean contrary to the common faith of holy church, and minds of great clerks, and authentic expositions of old holy doctors; even so here what other could they say than, 'Behold the heretic! and, Did not we tell you before whereto he would come, and that he kept some mischief behind, and spewed not out all his venom at once? see to what all his godly new doctrine that sounded so sweetly is come! He preached all of love, and would have the people saved by faith, so long till that now, at the last, he preacheth clean against all deeds of mercy, as prayer, fasting, and alms-deed, and destroyeth all good works. His disciples fast no more than dogs, they despise their divine service, and come not to church; yea, and if the holiest of all St Francis' order ask them alms, they bid him labour with his hands, and get his living, and say that he that laboureth not is not worthy to eat, and that God bade that no such strong lubbers should loiter, and go a begging, and be chargeable to the congregation, and eat up that other poor men get with the sweat of

their bodies: yea, and at the last ye shall see, if we resist him not betimes, that he shall move the people to insurrection, as Caiphas said, and the Romans shall come and take our land from us.' As ye see in the text, Luke xxiii. how, when they could not drive the people from him with those persuasions, they accused him to Pilate, saying: "We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he is Christ, a king." Wherefore "thou canst not be Cæsar's friend, if thou let him escape." But after all these blasphemies, yet must the Holy Ghost rebuke the world of their righteousness, yea, of their false righteousness and false holiness, which are neither righteousness nor holiness, but colour of hypocrisy.

Christ here destroyeth not prayer, fasting, and alms-deed, but preacheth against the false purpose and intent of such works, and perverting the true use; that is to say, their seeking of glory, and that they esteemed themselves righteous thereby, and better than other men, and so despised and condemned their brethren. With our alms (which is as much to say as deeds of mercy), or compassion, we ought to seek our Father's glory only, even the wealth of our brethren, and to win them to the knowledge of our Father and keeping of his law. He that seeketh the glory of his good works, seeketh the glory that belongeth to God, and maketh himself God. Is it not a blind thing of the world, that either they will do no good works at all, or will be God for their good works, and have the glory themselves?

Concerning blowing of trumpets, and ringing of bells, or making a cry, to call men to fetch alms, (though the right way be, that we should know in every parish all our poor, and have a common coffer for them; and that strangers should bring a letter of recommendation with them of their necessity, and that we had a common place to receive them into for the time; and though also we ought to flee all occasions of vain-glory,) yet while the world is out of order, it is not damnable to do it. So that the very meaning, both that we blow no trumpets, and that the left hand know not what the right hand doth, is, that we do as secretly as we can, and in no wise seek glory, or to receive it if it were proffered; but to do our deeds in singleness of conscience to God, because it is his commandment, and even of pure compassion and love

Luke xxiii.

John xix.

It is the  
purpose  
and intent  
of our  
deeds that  
make or  
mar.

To blow  
trumpets,  
what W. T.

Left hand.  
W. T.

Vain-glory,  
a good re-  
medy  
against it.  
W. T.

to our brethren ; and not that our good deeds, through standing in our own conceit, should cause us to despise them. If thou be tempted to vain-glory for thy good deeds, then look on thine evil thereto, and put the one in the one balance, and the other in the other. And then, if thou understand the law of God any thing at all, tell me, whether weigheth heavier. If that that thou doest do tempt thee, then consider what thou doest not. If it move thee to set up thy comb, when thou givest thy brother a farthing or a halfpenny, ponder in thine heart how far thou art off from loving him as well as thyself, and caring for him as much as for thyself. And be sure how much thou lackest of that, so much thou art in sin, and that in damnable sin, if God for Christ's sake did not pardon thee, because thine heart mourneth therefore, and thou fightest with thyself to come to such perfection. If a peacock did look well on his feet, and mark the evil-favoured shrieking of his voice, he would not be so proud of the beauty of his tail.

Works justify not from sin, neither deserve the reward promised.

Finally, that many dispute, Because God hath promised to reward our deeds in heaven, that our deeds deserve heaven ; and because he promiseth to shew mercy to the merciful, that with our deeds we deserve mercy ; and because he promiseth forgiveness of sins to them that forgive, that our deeds deserve forgiveness of sin, and so justify us : I answer, first, there is enough spoken thereof in other places ; so that to them that have read that it is superfluous to rehearse the matter again. Furthermore, the argument is naught, and holdeth by no rule. See ye not that the father and mother have more right to the child and to all it can do, than to an ox or a cow ? It is their flesh and blood, nourished up with their labour and cost. The life of it, and the maintenance and continuance thereof, is their benefit ; so that it is not able to recompense that it oweth to father and mother by a thousand parts. And though it be not able to do his duty, nor for blindness to know his duty, yet the father and mother promise more gifts still without ceasing, and that such as they think should most make it to see love, and to provoke it to be willing to do part of his duty. And when it hath done amiss, though it have no power to do satisfaction, nor lust or corage<sup>1</sup> to come to the right way again, yet their love

[<sup>1</sup> Used as on p. 55, not for bravery, but for the inclination of the heart.]

and mercy abideth still so great to it, that upon appointment of mending they not only forgive that is past, and fulfil their promise nevertheless<sup>2</sup>, but promise greater gifts than ever before, and to be better father and mother to it than ever they were. Now when it cannot do that thousandth part of his duty, how could it deserve such promises of the father and mother, as a labourer doth his hire? The reward thereof cometh of the love, mercy, and truth of the father and mother, as well when the child keepeth the appointment, as when they fulfil their promise when it hath broken the appointment; and not of the deserving of the child.

Even so, if we were not thus drowned in blindness, we should easily see that we cannot do the thousandth part of our duty to God: no, though there were no life to come. If there were no life to come, it were not right that I should touch any creature of God otherwise than he hath appointed. Though there were no life to come, it had nevertheless been right that Adam had abstained from the forbidden apple-tree, and from all other too, if they had been forbid. Yea, and though there were no life to come, it were not the less right that I loved my brother, and forgave him to-day, seeing I shall sin against him to-morrow. Because a father cannot give his children heaven, hath he no power to charge them to love one another, and to forgive, and not to avenge one another? And hath he not right to beat them if they smite each other, because he cannot give them heaven? A bond-man that hath a master more cruel than a reasonable man would be to a dog, if there were no heaven, might this bond-servant accuse God of unrighteousness, because he hath not made him a master? Now, then, when we cannot do our duty by a thousand parts, though there were no such promises, and that the thing commanded is no less our duty though no such promise were; it is easy to perceive that the reward promised cometh of the goodness, mercy, and truth of the promiser, to make us the gladder to do our duty, and not of the deserving of the receiver. When we have done all we can, we ought to say in our heart, that it was our duty, and that we ought to do a thousand times more; and that God (if he had not promised us mercy, of his goodness in Christ,) he might yet of right damn us for that we have left undone.

Our reward  
cometh not  
of our deserts,  
but through  
the love that  
God beareth  
us through  
faith in Jesus  
Christ.

[<sup>2</sup> L., not the later.]

We may not  
challenge the  
promise by  
our merits,  
but by  
Christ's  
blood.  
Phil. iii.

And as touching forgiveness of sin: though forgiveness of sin be promised unto thee, yet challenge it not by thy merits, but by the merits of Christ's blood; and hear what Paul saith: "Concerning the righteousness of the law I was faultless," or such as no man could rebuke; "but the things that were to vantage, I thought damage for Christ's sake; yea, I think all thing to be damage, or loss, for the excellent knowledge's sake of Christ Jesus my Lord; for whose sake I let all go to loss, and count them as chaff or refuse," (that is to say, as things which are purged out, and refused, when a thing is tried and made perfect,) "that I might win Christ, and might be found in him, not having my righteousness that cometh of the law, but that which cometh of faith in Christ Jesus; which righteousness cometh of God through faith, and is to know him and the power of his resurrection," (how he is Lord over all sin, and the only thing that slayeth and vanquisheth sin), "and to know also the fellowship of his passions, that I might be made like unto his death."

Cross. W. T.

Works,  
what they  
do. W. T.

Negligence in  
doing good  
bringeth us  
to despera-  
tion.

So that when righteousness and true merits be tried, we must be content that ours be the chaff, and Christ's the pure corn; ours the scum and refuse, and Christ's the pure gold. And we must fashion ourselves like unto Christ, and take every man his cross, and slay and mortify the sin in the flesh; or else we cannot be partakers of his passion. The sin we do before our conversion is forgiven clearly through faith, if we repent, and submit ourselves to a new life. And the sin we do against our wills, (I mean the will of the Spirit; for after our conversion we have two wills, fighting one against the other,) that sin is also forgiven us through faith, if we repent and submit ourselves to amend. And our diligence in working keepeth us from sinning again, and minisheth the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and maketh us pure and less apt and disposed to sin; and it maketh us merry in adversities, and strong in temptations, and bold to go unto God with a strong and fervent faith in our prayers, and sure that we shall be heard when we cry for help at need, either for ourselves or our brethren. Now, they that be negligent and sin, are brought in temptation unto the point of desperation, and feel the very pains of hell; so that they stand in doubt whether God hath cast them away or no: and in adversity

they be sorrowful and discouraged, and think that God is angry, and punisheth them for their sins. When a child taketh pain to do his father's pleasure, and is sure that he shall have thank and a reward for his labour, he is merry, and rejoiceth in work and pain that he suffereth; and so is the adversity of them that keep themselves from sinning. But a child, when he is beaten for his fault, or when he thinketh his father is angry, and loveth him not, is anon desperate and discouraged: so is the adversity of them that are weak, and sin oft. A child that never displeaseth his father is bold in his father's presence, to speak for himself or his friend: but he that oft offendeth, and is correct or chid, though the peace be made again, yet the remembrance of his offences maketh him fearful, and to mistrust, and to think his father would not hear him; so is the faith of the weak, that sin oft. But as for them that profess not a new living, however so much they dream of faith, they have no faith at all; for they have no promise, except they be converted to a new life. And therefore in adversities, temptation and death, they utterly despair of all mercy, and perish.

Two apt  
similitudes  
of well and  
evil doings.

Promise.  
He that pro-  
fesseth not a  
new life, hath  
no promise of  
mercy in  
Christ. W. T.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be like the hypocrites. For they love to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in corners of the streets, that they might be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward. Thou therefore, when thou prayest, go into thy chamber, and shut thy door, and pray to thy Father which is in secret. And thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

After alms followeth prayer. For as it is a christian man's part to help his neighbour, and to bear with him when he is overcharged, and suffer with him, and to stand one by another, as long as we live here on this earth; even so, because we be ever in such peril and cumbrance that we cannot rid ourselves out, we must daily and hourly cry to God for aid and succour, as well for our neighbours as for ourselves.

To give alms, to pray, to fast, or to do any thing at all, whether between thee and God, or between thee and thy neighbour, canst thou never do to please God therewith, except thou have the true knowledge of God's word to season thy deeds withal. For God hath put a rule in the scripture, without which thou canst not move an hair of thine head, but

Works  
must be  
seasoned  
with God's  
word, if  
they shall  
please God.

that it is damnable in the sight of God. As it is of the Jews, though (as Paul beareth them record) they have a fervent zeal to God, yea, and have the scripture thereto; yet because they have not the true understanding, all is damnable that they do. Hypocrites with scraps of alms get an hundred-fold. And with prayer they get praise, (as thou seest here); and pray thereto, and rob widows' houses, as thou readest

Matt. xxiii. And with fasting they get fat bellies, full dishes, and ever more than enough. And yet there is none alms, praying, or fasting among them, in the sight of God. With their prayers they exclude all true prayers, and make it impossible that there should be any among them. For prayer is either a longing for the honour and name of God, that all men should fear him, and keep his precepts, and believe in him; and contrary to that, they seek their own honour, that men should fear them and keep their ordinances, and believe in their sweet blessings, prayers, pardons, and whatsoever they promise: if they bid fast, thou must do it or be damned, and be an heretic and rebellious to holy church: if they dispense, and give thee clean remission for to eat flesh on Good Friday, though thou be never so lusty, thou must obey, or else thou art damned, and an heretic, because thou dost not believe in holy church. Either prayer is, to give God thanks for the benefits received: contrary to which, they will first have thanks of the world for their prayers, and rob not only widows' houses, but also lord, prince, emperor, and all the world, of house and land; yea, and of their wits too. And then they bind God to thank them, and to give them (beside the thanks which they have gotten in the world) not only heaven and a higher place, but that he give heaven to no other man, save through their merits. Either prayer is a complaining and a shewing of thine own misery and necessity, or of thy neighbour's before God; desiring him, with all the power of thine heart, to have compassion and to succour. Contrary to this, they have excluded with their prayers all necessity and misery from among them. They be lords over all, and do what they will through the whole world. King and emperor are their servants; they need but say the word, and their will is fulfilled. And as for their neighbours, they have no compassion upon them, to bring their complaints before God; but with

Matt. xxiii.

Prayer,  
what it is.  
W. T.



their prayers rob them of that little they have, and so make them more miserable.

Of entering into the chamber and shutting the door to, I say as above, (of that the left hand should not know what the right hand doth,) the meaning is, that we should avoid all worldly praise and profit, and pray with a single eye and true intent according to God's word; and [it] is not forbidden thereby to pray openly. For we must have a place to come together, to pray in general, to thank and to cry to God for the common necessities, as well as to preach the word of God in: where the priest ought to pray in the mother tongue, that the name of God may be hallowed, and his word faithfully taught and truly understood, and faith and godly living increased; and for the king and rulers, that God will give them his Spirit, to love the commonwealth; and for peace, that God will defend us from all enemies; for weddering<sup>1</sup> and fruits, that God will keep away pestilence and all plagues. And the priest should be an example to the people how they should pray. There be, of such things as the priests and other habble (and not pray), many good collects, that should much edify the people, if they were spoken in the mother tongue. And then, while the priests sing psalms, let every man pray privately, and give God thanks for such benefits as his heart knoweth he hath received of God, and commend to God his private necessities, and the private necessities of his neighbours which he knoweth, and is privy to. Neither is there, in all such, any jeopardy of vain-glory. But and if God hath given any man the spirit of praying, as all men have not like gifts, that he pray oft and when other do not; then to have a secret place to pray in, both for the avoiding of vain-glory and speech of people, and that thou mayest be free to use thy words as thou lustest, and whatsoever gestures and behaviours do move thee most to devotion, is necessary and good.

And, finally: whatsoever necessity thou hast, though thou feel thyself a great sinner, yet if thine heart be to amend, let not that discourage thee: but go boldly to thy Father, seeing thou hast his commandment ever to pray, and promise that he will hear thee, not for thy goodness, but of his goodness, and for his truth.

To shut thy  
chamber  
door, what  
it meaneth.  
W. T.

God's com-  
mandment  
and pro-  
mise should  
move us to  
pray.

[<sup>1</sup> Saxon; pædeþung, inclement weather.]

Moreover, when ye pray, babble not much as the heathen do. For they think that they shall be heard for their much babbling's sake. Be not, therefore, like unto them. For your Father knoweth of what things ye have need, before ye ask him. Of this manner, therefore, pray ye :

The Pater-noster.

O! Our Father, which art in heaven, honoured be thy name, thy kingdom come. Thy will be fulfilled, even in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive our trespassers. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever. Amen.

That prayer is vain wherein the heart is not joined with the tongue.

As before he rebuked their false intent in praying, that they sought praise and profit of that work, which ought to be direct to God alone, either to give him thanks, that is to say, to be aknowen, and to confess in the heart that all we have cometh of him; or to call upon him for aid and succour in temptations and all necessity : even so here he rebuketh a false kind of praying, wherein the tongue and lips labour, and all the body is pained, but the heart talketh not with God, nor feeleth any sweetness at all, nor hath any confidence in the promises of God; but trusteth in the multitude of words, and in the pain and tediousness of the length of the prayer; as a conjuror doth in his circles, characters, and superstitious words of his conjuration : as ye see now to be among our friars, monks, canons and nuns, and even throughout all the spirituality; which (as I have proved above) have, with their false intent of praying, excluded all occasions and the whole matter of true prayer, and have turned it into a bodily labour, to vex the tongue, lips, eyes, and throat with roaring, and to weary all the members; so that they say (and may truly swear it) that there is no greater labour in the world than prayer; for no labour, whatsoever it be, when the body is compelled, and the heart unwilling, can be other than grievous and painful. But true prayer (if they complained and sought help either for themselves, or for their neighbours, and trusted in the promise of God) would so comfort the soul and courage the heart, that the body, though it were half dead and more, would revive and be lusty again, and the labour would be short and easy : as for an ensample; if thou were so oppressed that thou were weary of thy life, and wentest to the king for help, and haddest sped, thy spirits would so rejoice, that thy body would receive her

False prayer is painful.

True prayer is pleasant.

strength again, and be as lusty as ever it was, even so the promises of God work joy above all measure, where they be believed in the heart.

But our hirclings have no God's word, but trust in the multitude of words, length of babbling, and pain of body, as bond servants: neither know they any other virtue to be in prayer; as ye may see by the ordinances of all foundations. King Henry the Fifth built Sion, and the Charterhouse of Sion. Shene<sup>1</sup> on the other side of the water, of such a manner that Shene.

hip-labour may never cease. For when the friars of Sion ring out, the nuns begin; and when the nuns ring out of service, the monks on the other side begin; and when they ring out, the friars begin again, and vex themselves night and day, and take pain for God's sake; for which God must give them heaven. Yea, and I have known of some ere this, that for very pain and tediousness have bidden the devil take their founders. They call Lent the holiest time of the year: but wherein is that holiness? Verily, in multitude of words, and the tedious length of service. For let them begin at six, and it will be twelve or they can end; in which time they be so wearied, that by the time they have dined, they have lust to nothing save to sleep. And in the end of all they think no farther, than that God must reward their pain. And if you ask how they know it? they will answer: He must reward it, or be unrighteous. Now, God looketh not on the pain of the prayer, but on thy faith in his promise and goodness; neither yet on the multitude of thy words, or long babbling: for he knoweth thy matter better than thou thyself. And though the Jews and the heathen were so foolish, through their unbelief, to babble many words, yet were they never so mad as to mumble and buz out words that they understood not. Thou wilt say, What matter maketh it if I speak words which I understand not, or if I pray not at all, seeing God knoweth my matter already? I answer: He will have thee to open thine heart to him, to inform and edify thine ownself, (that thou mightest know how all goodness is of him,) to put thy trust and confidence in him, and to fly to him in time of need, and to be thankful, and to love him and obey his commandments, and turn and

Not the multitude of thy words, but thy faith in praying, God doth respect.

[<sup>1</sup> Shene; whose name Henry VII. changed to Richmond, his own early title.]

be converted unto thy Lord God; and not to run wild as the ungodly do, which know not the benefits of God, and therefore be unthankful to obey his commandments.

And that thou mayest know how, and what to pray, he giveth thee a short instruction and ensample, saying, After this manner pray :

Our Father, which art in heaven.

The Pater-  
noster is  
expounded.  
W. T.

First, thou must go to him as a merciful Father ; which of his own goodness and fatherly love, that he beareth to thee, is ready to do more for thee than thou canst desire, though thou have no merits, but because he is thy Father, only if thou wilt turn, and henceforth submit thyself to learn to do his will.

Honoured be thy name.

To honour  
God's name,  
what it is.  
W. T.

Honoured and praised be thy name ; or honoured and praised be thou : for to honour God, and to honour the name of God, is all one. And to honour the name of God is to dread him, to love him, and to keep his commandments. For when a child obeyeth his father, he honoureth and praiseth his father : and when he is rebellious and disobedient, he dishonoureth his father. This is, then, the understanding and meaning of it. O Father, seeing thou art Father over all, pour out thy Spirit upon all flesh, and make all men to fear, and dread, and love thee as their Father, and in keeping thy commandments to honour thee and thy holy name.

Thy kingdom come.

Kings must  
command  
nothing, nor  
forbid to do  
any thing,  
contrary to  
God's word.

That is, seeing thou art king over all, make all to know thee ; and make the kings and rulers, which are but thy substitutes, to command nothing but according to thy word, and to them make all subjects obey.

Thy will be fulfilled in earth as it is in heaven.

This is all one with that goeth before. Forasmuch, then, as thou art Father and king over all, and all we thy children and brethren among ourselves, make us all as obedient to seek and to do thy will, as the angels do in heaven. Make that no man seek his own will, but all thine. But and if thou withdraw thine hand, to tempt thy children, that the

rulers command ought contrary to thy will, then make the subjects to stand fast by thy word, and to offer themselves to suffer all extremity rather than to obey. Finally, when we pray to thee in our temptations and adversities, desiring thee of whatsoever thing it be, and mean truly; yet if thou, which knowest all, seest a better way to thy glory and our profit, then thy will be, and not ours: as thy son Jesus gave us an ensample, when he desired (if it had been possible) that that cup of bitter death might have departed from him, saying, "Yet not as I will, but as thou wilt."

When we request anything at God's hand, we must pray that his will be done, and not ours.

Give us our daily bread.

By bread is understood all manner of sustenance, in the Hebrew speech; yea, and here is understood thereby all that pertaineth unto the necessity of this life. If we have bread, there is dearth of nothing that can pinch, namely<sup>1</sup> in that land. Give us our daily bread. Give us all that the necessity of this life daily requireth. Give us it day by day as we need it. We desire not to have store for many years, to exclude all necessity of praying to thee, and to be, as it were, out of thy danger, and to forget thee: but minister it day by day, that we may daily feel thy benefits, and never forget thee. Or if thou give us abundance above that we desire, then give us an heart to use it, and to bestow it for that purpose thou gavest it, and to deal<sup>2</sup> with our neighbours, and not to love it inordinately; but to think that it is thine, and that thou mayest take it away every hour, and that we be content that thou so do at thy pleasure; and so ever to have it but for daily bread.

Daily bread, whereby is understood all that pertaineth to the necessity of this life.

Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive our trespassers.

Because he knoweth that our nature is so weak that we cannot but sin daily; therefore he teacheth us daily to repent, and to reconcile ourselves together, and daily to ask God forgiveness. Seeing he commandeth us to ask, we may be bold so to do, and to believe that he will forgive us. No man, therefore, needeth to despair, that can repent and ask forgiveness, however so deep he hath sinned. And, methinketh, if we looked somewhat nearer to this text, we needed not make

[<sup>1</sup> Namely, i. e. *especially* in the land of Canaan, where Christ was when he spoke this prayer.]

[<sup>2</sup> Deal, i. e. divide.]

A surer way  
than pardons.

the pope so great a god, for his pardons. For Christ (which is a man to be believed) sheweth us here a more sure way; yea, and that a sensible way, by which we may feel that we be pardoned, and our sins forgiven. We can have no experience of the pope's things, whether they be so or no. He can with all his pardons deliver no man of any purgatory that God putteth us unto in this world. He cannot bless, or heal any man so much as of a poor ague, or tooth-ache; which diseases yet (by his own confession) God putteth on us to purge us from sin. But where we cannot see, feel, or have any experience at all, that it so is, there is he mighty. If I were come home out of a land where never man was before, and were sure never man should come, I might tell as many wonders as Master More doth of Utopia, and no man could rebuke me.

How thou  
mayest be  
sure of pardon  
for thy sins.

MAT. V.

But here Christ maketh thee sure of pardon; for if thou canst forgive thy brother, God hath bound himself to forgive thee. What if no man have sinned against me? That were hard in this life; nevertheless yet, if that profession be in thine heart, that thou knowest that it is thy duty to forgive thy brother for thy Father's sake, and art obedient to thy Father's ordinance, and wouldest forgive, if any of thy brethren had offended thee, and did ask thee forgiveness; then hast thou that same spirit which God desireth to be in thee. Mark what Christ saith above, in the beginning of the fifth chapter: "Blessed be the merciful, for they shall have mercy." Dost thou pity thy brethren that sin, and dost thy best to amend them, that thy Father's name may be honoured? Then hast thou that, whereby thou art sure of mercy as soon as thou desirest it. And again: "Blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be God's children." Lo, if there be any variance among thy brethren, that one have offended the other, do thy best to set them at one, and thou hast the same thing that God desireth of thee, and for which he hath bound himself to forgive thee.

Lead us not into temptation.

That is, let us not slip out of thy lease<sup>1</sup>, but hold us fast; give us not up, nor cease to govern us, nor take thy Spirit

[<sup>1</sup> Lease, or Leash; a cord or thong, by which the huntsman held one or more dogs.]

from us. For as a hound cannot but follow his game when he seeth it before him, if he be loose; so can we not but fall into sin when occasion is given us, if thou withdraw thine hand from us. Lead us not into temptation. Let no temptation fall upon us greater than thine help in us; but be thou stronger in us than the temptation thou sendest, or lettest come upon us. Lead us not into temptations. Father, though we be negligent, yea, and unthankful and disobedient to thy true prophets; yet let not the devil loose upon us to deceive us, with his false prophets, and to harden us in the way in which we gladly walk, as thou diddest Pharaoh with the false miracles of his sorcerers; as thine apostle Paul threateneth us. 2 Thess. ii. A little thread holdeth a strong man, where he gladly is. A little pulling draweth a man, whither he gladly goeth. A little wind driveth a great ship, with the stream. A light persuasion is enough to make a lecherous man believe that fornication is no sin; and an angry man, that it is lawful to avenge himself, and so forth, by all the corrupt nature of man. A little miracle is able to confirm and harden a man in that opinion and faith which his blind reason believeth already. A few false miracles were sufficient to persuade the covetousness of Pharaoh, and his greediness to hold the children of Israel in bondage for their service, that thy true miracles, shewed by Moses for their deliverance, were not of thee, but of the same kind, and done by the same craft, as were the miracles of his sorcerers, and so to harden his heart.

We cannot of ourselves but fall into sin.

Small occasions draw us to sin, whereunto we are naturally prone.

Even so, Father, if thou give us over for our unkindness, seeing the blind nature of man delighteth in evil, and is ready to believe lies, a little thing is enough to make them that love not to walk in thy truth, (and therefore never able to understand thy Son's doctrine, John vii.) for to believe the feignings of our most holy father, all his superstitious popery and invisible blessings, and to harden them therein. As a stone cast up into the air can neither go any higher, neither yet there abide, when the power of the hurler ceaseth to drive it; even so, Father, seeing our corrupt nature can but go downward only, and the devil and the world driveth thereto that same way, how can we proceed further in virtue or stand therein, if thy power cease in us? Lead us not therefore, O merciful Father, into temptation, nor cease at any time to govern us.

John vii.

Now, seeing the God of all mercy, which knoweth thine

infirmity, commandeth thee to pray in all temptation and adversity, and hath promised to help, if thou trust in him; what excuse is it to say, when thou hast sinned, I could not stand of myself; when his power was ready to help thee, if thou haddest asked?

But deliver us from evil.

Who should  
think himself  
to be without  
sin, were as  
evil as Lu-  
cifer.

First, as above, let us not fall into temptation. Secondly, if we be fallen (as who liveth and falleth never? For never to fall were enough to make a man as evil as Lucifer, and to believe that he stood by his own power: if therefore we be fallen) even to the bottom, howsoever deep it be, put in thine arm after, (for it is long and strong enough,) and pluck us out again.

Thirdly, deliver us from evil, and pluck us out of the flesh, and the world, and the power of the devil; and place us in thy kingdom, where we be past all jeopardy, and where we cannot sin any more.

For the kingdom, and the power and the glory, is thine for ever. Amen.

Because that thou only art the king, and all other but substitutes. And because all power is thine, and all other men's power but borrowed of thee; therefore ought all honour and obedience to be thine of right, as chief Lord; and none to be given other men, but only for the office they hold of thee. Neither ought any creature to seek any more in this world than to be a brother, till thou have put him in office; then (if brotherliness will not help, which he ought first to prove) let him execute thy power. Neither may any man take authority of himself, till God have chosen him; that is to wit, till he be chosen by the ordinance that God hath set in the world, to rule it. Finally, no king, lord, master, or what ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world, and is the very thing which he is called; for then they ceased to be brethren still, neither could they sin, whatsoever they commanded. But now their authority is but a limited power, which when they transgress, they sin against their brethren, and ought to reconcile themselves to their brethren, and to ask forgiveness; and they are bound to forgive.

Kings and  
subjects are  
all one afore  
God.

Finally, let kings, rulers, and officers remember that God is the very king, and refer the honour that is given to them for their offices' sake to him, and humble themselves to him,



and knowledge and confess in their hearts, that they be but brethren, and even no better before God, than the worst of their subjects. So be it<sup>1</sup>.

For if ye forgive men their faults, your heavenly Father shall forgive you also. But and if ye do not forgive men their faults, no more shall your Father forgive your faults.

This is God's covenant with us, and a confirmation of the petition above rehearsed in the Pater-noster : "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive our trespassers." If thou wilt enter into the covenant of thy Lord God, and forgive thy brother ; then whatsoever thou hast committed against God, if thou repent and ask him forgiveness, thou art sure that thou art so absolved by these words, that none in heaven nor earth can bind thee ; no, though our most holy father curse thee as black as coals, seven foot under the earth, and seven foot above, and cast all his lightning upon thee, to burn thee to powder. Keep the covenant of the Lord thy God therefore, and fear no bugs. But and if thou wilt not come within the covenant of God, or if, when thou hast professed it, and received the sign thereof, thou cast the yoke of the Lord from off thy neck, be thou sure thou art bound by these words so fast that none in heaven or in earth can loose thee ; no, though our earthish god whisper all his absolutions over thee, and claw thee, and stroke thine head with all his sweet blessings.

A covenant wherewith God is bound to forgive us, and we to forgive each other. W. T.

God's covenant is a sure absolution to all that keep it. W. T.

Furthermore, though forgiveness of thy sins be annexed to thy work and forgiving thy brother ; yet do not (as I said) thy works justify thee before God. But the faith in Christ's blood, and in the promises made to us for his sake, doth bring righteousness into the heart. And the righteousness of the heart by faith is felt and known by the work : as Peter, <sup>2 Pet. i.</sup> in the first of his second epistle, commandeth to do good works, for to make our vocation and election sure ; that we might feel our faith, and be certified that it is right. For except a man be proved and tried, it cannot be known, neither to himself or other men, that he is righteous and in the true faith. Take an example, lest thou be beguiled with sophistry. Christ saith, "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven which a woman taketh and hideth in three pecks of meal till all be leavened," or sour. Leaven is sometimes taken in an evil

Matt. xiii.

Leaven, how many ways is taken.

[<sup>1</sup> Thus L., but D. Amen.]

sense, for the doctrine of the Pharisees, which corrupted the sweetness of the word of God with the leaven of their glosses; and sometime in a good sense, for the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, the gospel and glad tidings of Christ. For as leaven altereth the nature of dough, and maketh it thorough sour; even so the gospel turneth a man into a new life, and altereth him a little and a little, first the heart, and then the members.

Faith, what power it is of, and the fruits that spring thereof.

Faith in Christ first certifieth the conscience of the forgiveness of sins, and delivereth us from the fear of everlasting damnation; and then bringeth the love of God and of his law into the heart, which love is the righteousness of the heart. Love bringeth good works into the members; which works are the outward righteousness, and the righteousness of the members. To hate the will of God is the unrighteousness of the heart; and causeth evil works, which are the unrighteousness of the members: as when I hated my brother, my tongue spake evil, my hands smote, and so forth. To love is the righteousness of the heart; and causeth good works, which are the righteousness of the members: as if I love my brother, and he have need of me, and be in poverty, love will make me put mine hand into my purse, or almonry, and to give him somewhat to refresh him, &c. That the love of God and of his commandments is the righteousness of the heart, doth no man doubt, save he that is heartless. And that love springeth of faith, thou mayest evidently see, 1 John ii.: "He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light. But he that hateth his brother, is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth; for darkness hath blinded his eyes." Why is he that hateth in darkness? Verily, because he seeth not the love of God in Christ: for if he saw that, he could not but love his brother for so kind a father's sake. If any man hate his brother, be thou sure that the same man is in darkness, and hath not the light of true faith, nor seeth what Christ hath done. If a man so love that he can forgive his brother, assure thyself that he is in the light of the true faith, and seeth what mercy is shewed him in Christ.

Love is righteousness. W. T.

Faith bringeth love. W. T. 1 John ii.

Works.

Love. Faith. Eph. ii.

This is then the sum of all together: works are the outward righteousness before the world, and may be called the righteousness of the members, and spring of inward love. Love is the righteousness of the heart, and springeth of faith. Faith is the trust in Christ's blood, and is the gift of God;

whereunto a man is drawn of the goodness of God, and driven through true knowledge of the law, and of beholding his deeds in the lust and desire of the members unto the request of the law, and with seeing his own damnation in the glass of the law. For if a man saw his own damnation in the law, he should immediately hate God and his works, and utterly despair, except God offered him Christ, and forgave all that were past, and made him his son, and took the damnation of the law away, and promised that if he would submit himself to learn and to do his best, that he should be accept as well as an angel in heaven; and thereto, if he fell of frailty, and not of malice and stubbornness, it should be forgiven upon amendment, and that God would ever take him for his son, and only chastise him at home when he did amiss, after the most fatherliest manner, and as easily as his disease would suffer, but never bring him forth to be judged after the rigorousness of the law. And as thou couldest not see leaven, though thou brakest up a loaf, except thou smelledst or tastedst the sourness, even so couldest thou never see true faith or love, except thou sawest works; and also sawest the intent and meaning of the worker, lest hypocrisy deceive thee.

As leaven cannot be seen in a loaf without smell or taste, so cannot faith in us without good works, and the intent of the same, be seen or appear.

Our deeds are the effect of righteousness, and thereto an outward testimony and certifying of the inward righteousness, as sourness is of leaven. And when I say faith justifieth, the understanding is, that faith receiveth the justifying. God promiseth to forgive us our sins, and to impute us for full righteous. And God justifieth us actively: that is to say, forgiveth us, and reckoneth us for full righteous. And Christ's blood deserveth it; and faith in the promise receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof. Faith challengeth it for Christ's sake, which hath deserved all that is promised; and cleaveth ever to the promise, and truth of the promiser; and pretendeth not the goodness of her work, but knowledgeth that our works deserve it not, but are crowned and rewarded with the deservings of Christ. Take an ensample of young children, when the father promiseth them a good thing for the doing of some trifle, and, when they come for their reward, dallieth<sup>1</sup> with them, saying: 'What, that thou hast done is not worth half so much: should I give thee so great thing for so little a trifle?' they will answer: 'Ye did promise me: ye said, I

That faith justifieth, what it meaneth. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> So L., but D. *delayeth*.]

should have it: why did ye promise, and why then did ye say so?' And let him say what he will to drive them off, they will ever say again, 'Ye did promise me, so ye did: ye said I should have it, so ye did.' But hirelings will pretend<sup>1</sup> their work, and say, 'I have deserved it: I have done so much, and so much, and my labour is worth it.'

Faith.

Now at the first covenant-making with God, and as oft as we be reconciled, after we have sinned, the righteousness cometh of God altogether. But after the atonement is made and we reconciled, then we be partly righteous in ourselves and unrighteous; righteous as far as we love, and unrighteous as far as the love is imperfect. And faith in the promise of God, that he doth reckon us for full righteous, doth ever supply that unrighteousness and imperfectness, as it is our whole righteousness at the beginning.

Works are  
sacraments.  
W. T.

Finally, our works which God commandeth, and unto which he annexed his promises that he will reward them, are as it were very sacraments, and visible and sensible signs, tokens, earnest obligations, witnesses, testimonies, and a sure certifying of our souls, that God hath and will do according to his promise, to strength our weak faith, and to keep the promise in mind. But they justify us not, no more than the visible works of the sacraments do. As for example, the work of baptism, that outward washing, which is the visible sacrament or sign, justifieth us not. But God only justifieth us actively, as cause efficient or workman. God promiseth to justify whosoever is baptized to believe in Christ, and to keep the law of God; that is to say, to forgive them their fore sins, and to impute righteousness unto them, to take them for his sons, and to love them as well as though they were full righteous. Christ hath deserved us that promise, and that righteousness. And faith doth receive it; and God doth give it and impute it to faith, and not to the washing. And the washing doth testify it, and certify us of it, as the pope's letters do certify the believers of the pope's pardons. Now the letters help not or hinder, but that the pardons were as good without them, as with them<sup>2</sup>, save only to stablish weak souls, that could not believe except

Baptism.  
W. T.Christ.  
Faith.

[<sup>1</sup> Allege as giving a legal claim; from the use of the word *præ-tendo* in law Latin. So Gesner's Thesaurus, *Barbaris prætereendere est postulare tanquam jure sibi suo debitum.*]

[<sup>2</sup> So L., but the last three words are not in D.]

they read the letters, looked on the seal, and saw the print of St Peter's keys.

O a merciful God, and a most loving Father, how careth he for us! First, above all and beside all his other benefits, to give us his own Son Jesus, and with him to give us himself and all; and not content therewith, but to give us so many sacraments, or visible signs, to provoke us and to help our weak faith, and to keep his mercy in mind: as baptism, the sacrament of his body and blood, and as many other sacraments as they will have, if they put significations to them (for we destroy none, but they destroy which have put out the significations, or feigned some without), as wedlock, to signify that Christ is the husband and we his wife and partakers with him, as the wife with her husband, of all his riches, &c. And beyond all those visible sacraments, to give us yet more sensible and surer sacraments, and surances of his goodness, even in our own selves: as if we love and give alms to our neighbour, if we have compassion and pray for him, if we be merciful and forgive him, if we deny ourselves, and fast, and withdraw all pleasures from the flesh, for love of the life to come, and to keep the commandments of God. For when such things being before impossible, and now are easy and natural, we feel and are sure that we be altered, and<sup>3</sup> a new creature, shapen in righteousness after the image of Christ and God our Father, seeing his laws of righteousness are written in our hearts.

When ye fast, be not sad as the hypocrites are. For they fashion them Fast.  
a new countenance, that it might appear unto men how they fast. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward. Thou therefore, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face, that it appear not unto men how thou fastest; but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

As above of alms and prayer, even so here Christ rebuketh the false intent and hypocrisy of fasting; that they sought praise of that work that was ordained for to tame the flesh, and used such fashions, that all the world might know that they fasted, to praise them, and to say, 'O what holy men are these; how pale and pitiful look they, even like death, hanging down their heads, and beholding the earth, as men clean out of the world! If these come not to heaven, what shall become of us poor wretches of the world? If these be not great in the

If fasting be used to any other end, than to tame the flesh, that thereby we may be the more prone to serve God, it is abused.

[<sup>3</sup> So L., but in D. *and of a new, &c.*]

favour of God, and their prayers be heard whatsoever they ask, in what case are we lay people? Happy is he that may be a brother among them, and partaker of their prayers and fastings, and other holy living. In an unhappy (in an happy, I would say) hour was he born that buildeth them a cell or a cloister, or giveth them a portion of his land to comfort them good men in this painful living, and strait penance which they have taken upon them. Blessed were he that might kiss the edge of the coat of one of them. Oh, he that might have his body wrapped in one of their old coats at the hour of death, it were as good to him as his christendom<sup>1</sup>, &c.' It appeareth also by that they asked Christ, why his disciples fasted not as well as the Pharisees, that they oft fasted when the common people fasted not, and all to appear holy; as ours fast advent, and begin before lent at Septuagesima, when *Laus tibi Domine*<sup>2</sup> cometh in.

To anoint the  
head, what it  
meaneth.  
W. T.

And concerning the anointing of thy head, &c. is meant, as afore of turning the other cheek, and of that the left hand should not know what the right did: that is, that they should avoid all vain-glory, and fast to God, and for the intent that God ordained it for, and that with a merry heart and cheerful countenance, thereby to feel the working of God, and to be sure of his favour. Such is the meaning, and not to hind them that will fast to anoint their heads and wash their faces. And the manner or phrase of speaking cometh of an usage, that was among the Jews, to anoint themselves with sweet and odoriferous anointments, when they were disposed to be merry and to make good cheer, as ye see how Mary of Bethany poured a box of precious ointment upon Christ's head at supper.

Fasting.

As concerning fasting, it were good, that kings and rulers did set an order of soberness among their subjects, to avoid dearth, innumerable diseases, and the great heap of vices that spring of intemperancy; and that they forbid not only riot and excess, but also all manner wanton, delicious, and customable eating and drinking of such things as corrupt the people, and

[<sup>1</sup> Christening.]

[<sup>2</sup> Praise to thee, O Lord. From Septuagesima to Palm Sunday the Roman breviary directs the omission of *Te Deum* in the Sunday service; and *Laus tibi Domine* is then added as a ninth responsorium in its stead.]

make the men more effeminate than the women, so that there remaineth no more tokens of a man in them save their beards. Our fashions of eating make us slothful, and unlusty to labour and study; unstable, inconstant, and light-mannered; full of wits, after-witted (as we call it), incircumspect, inconsiderate, heady, rash, and hasty to begin unadvisedly, and without casting of perils, the end not considered what may follow, nor the means well looked upon, how and by what way the matter might be brought to pass, triflers, mockers, rude, unsavoury jesters<sup>3</sup> without all manner of salt, and even very apes and marmosets, and full of wanton and ribaldish communication and lewd gestures. It corrupteth the wit with false judgment, and infecteth the body with lust, and maketh the whole man so unquiet in himself, that the body cannot sit still and rest in one place, and continue in his work, nor the mind persevere and endure in one purpose.

The heap of inconveniences that spring by intemperate and superfluous eating and drinking

Let them provide that there be diligent fishing in the sea, and command the sea coast, and towns whither fish may easily come, to fast Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday too, if need be, and on the Friday to eat no white meat. And let the countries which have none abundance of fish, yet have white meat enough, fast Friday and Saturday from flesh only. And let those countries where scarcity of both is, fast Friday from flesh only, and eat flesh Wednesday and Saturday; but abstain from supper, or from dinner, or eat soberly those days. And let them so moderate their fasts that the people may bear it, a provision made for the old, the sick, and feeble, &c.: which fast shall be a temporal thing, for a temporal commonwealth only, and not a service to God.

Fasting days, or days of abstinence, are to be ordained for common-wealth's sake.

Then let the priests preach first the law truly, and teach the people to see their sins, and so bring them to repentance; and secondarily, the faith of Christ, and the forgiveness of sin through faith; and thirdly, alms, prayer, and fasting, which are the whole life of a christian man, and without which there is no christian man alive. And let them preach the true use of their alms, which is to help thy neighbour with counsel, with body and goods, and all that is in thy power; and the true use of prayer, which is to bring his necessity and thine own before God, with a strong faith in his promises; and the true use of fasting, which is to tame the flesh

Alms.

Prayer.

Fasting.

[<sup>3</sup> So L., but D. *unsavoury jesture*.]

unto the spirit, that the soul may attend to the word of God and pray through faith.

Alms,  
prayer, and  
fasting, how  
necessary.  
W. T.

By these three we keep the Spirit of God; and both continue, and also grow in righteousness, and wax perfecter and perfecter in soul and body. And if these fail, or that we understand not the right intent, we lose the Spirit again, and the righteousness of faith, and the true understanding of the scripture, and all our learning shall be but pure darkness. And then what a blindness is that, when the darkness of hell is called the light of heaven!

Alms,  
prayer, and  
fasting, are  
inseparable.  
W. T.

As it is of alms and prayer, so it is of fasting: judge like<sup>1</sup> of all three. Where any one of them is, there are they all three: and where any one is away, there is none at all. We must have the profession of all three ever written in our hearts. I must ever love my neighbour and be ready to help, and when occasion is offered, then do it. I ought to consider and know that all cometh of God; and to knowledge that same to him in mine heart. And whatsoever we need, we ought to know that we must receive that of God, and therefore to call ever to him with a strong faith. Even so I must ever fight against my flesh, and therefore ever withdraw from it all that moveth it to rebel against the Spirit.

Fasting is not  
in eating and  
drinking  
only.  
W. T.

So now fasting standeth not in eating and drinking only, and much less in flesh alone; but in abstinence of all that moveth the flesh against the Spirit, as long sleeping, idleness, and filthy communication, and all worldly talking, as of covetousness and promotion and such like, and wanton company, soft clothes, and soft beds, and so forth; which are that right hand and right eye, that must be cut off and plucked out, that the whole man perish not. And as ye can put no general rule of alms or prayer, no more can ye of fasting. But I must be always ready to cut off whatsoever I perceive to strength the flesh against the Spirit. And I must have a diligent eye to the flesh and his complexion; and, if aught escape me in word or deed, seek whence the occasion came, and at once cut off that right hand, and pluck out that eye.

Works  
make hypo-  
crites, if the  
true intent  
be away.  
W. T.

If this fast be truly preached, then is fasting good, and not afore, for making of hypocrites: as Christ would not let his disciples fast before they were learned, lest they should

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but in L. *like* is wanting.]



thereby have been no better than the Pharisees. And then the outward fasting, ordained by the temporal rulers, helpeth much for the weak's sake. Yea, and though the land were so plenteous, that it needed not to command such fast for to avoid dearth, yet they ought to set such up, because of them that cannot rule themselves; for whose sakes they ought to forbid excesses of taverns, and alehouses, and rioting out of season. For if the people could rule themselves, what need rulers? Moreover, if any man privately shew the priest his infirmities, and the priest see any manner of abstinence or chastising apt for the person, that let him counsel him to do for the subduing of the flesh; and not command as a tyrant, under pain of damnation, and to make satisfaction. Thuswise let him say: 'Brother or sister, ye be bound under pain of deadly sin to tame your flesh by some manner of way, that ye sin not against God; and I know no better than this: My counsel and my desire therefore is, that ye use this, till either ye have no more need, or till God shew you some better,' &c. And let elders consider diligently the course of their youth, and with wisdom, counsel, and discreet governance help the younger to avoid the perils and jeopardies which they have learned, by their own experience, to be in that dangerous journey.

Rulers be  
ordained  
for them  
that cannot  
rule them-  
selves.  
W. T.

Moreover, when the people be fallen from their profession, and from the law; as it shall be impossible for the preacher to keep the great multitude together, if the temporal sword be slack and negligent in punishing open offences (as they ever have and will be, save in those points only wherein lieth the pith of their own profit and advantage, and the weight of their honour and maintenance of their dignities); and when God also (as his promise is) hath brought upon them the curses of the law, hunger, death, battle, pestilence and all manner of plagues, with all misfortune and evil luck; then let the true preachers be importune, and shew the people the causes of their misery and wretched adversity; and expound the law to them, and bring them to knowledge of their sins; and so bind their consciences, and draw them to repentance, and to the appointment and covenant of the Lord again: as many holy prophets, priests, and kings in the old Testament did call the people back, and brought them again in time of adversity unto the appointment of the Lord; and the priest, prophet, or king,

The office  
of a true  
preacher.  
W. T.

Note this  
well, ye  
temporal  
magis-  
trates.

Prophets,  
priests, yea,  
and kings  
of the old  
Testament,  
zealous  
preachers.

in God's stead smote hands with them, and took an oath of them, to be the Lord's people, and to turn again to the Lord's covenant, for to keep his law and to believe in his promises: and God immediately withdrew his hand, and rid them out of all captivity and danger, and became as merciful as ever before.

Papists have often called to the pope's covenant, but seldom to the Lord's.

But we Christians have been very seldom, or never, called again to the covenant of the Lord, the law of God, and faith of Christ; but to the covenant of the pope often: as he now clucketh apace for his chickens, and will both prove all his old policies, and seek and imagine new practices. And if the people come again, let the priest or bishop, after the ensample of the prophets and high priests of the Israelites, take an oath, in God's stead, of the king and lords. And let the king and lords receive an oath of the people, and follow the ensample of the Ninevites in fasting and praying.

Objection.

Some men will say, Seeing fasting is to withdraw all pleasures from the body and to punish the flesh, then God delighteth in our pain-taking, &c. I answer: God delighteth in true obedience, and in all that we do at his commandment, and for the intent that he commandeth it for. If thou love and pity thy neighbour, and help him, thy alms is acceptable. If thou do it of vain-glory, to have the praise that belongeth to God, or for a greater profit only, or to make satisfaction for thy sins past, and to dishonour Christ's blood, which hath made it already; then is thine alms abominable. If thy prayer be thanks in heart, or calling to God for help, with trust in him according to his promise, then thy prayer pleaseth. If thou believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sins, and henceforth hatest sin, that thou punishest thy body to slay<sup>1</sup> thy lusts, and to keep them under, that thou sin not again; then it pleaseth God exceedingly. But and if thou think that God delighteth in the work for the work itself, the true intent away, and in thy pain for thy pain itself, thou art as far out of the way as from heaven to the earth. If thou wouldest kill thy body, or, when it is tame enough, pain him further that thou wert not able to serve God and thy neighbour according to the room and estate thou art in; thy sacrifice were clean without salt, and altogether unsavoury in the taste of God, and thou mad and out

How God delighteth in our pain-taking.  
W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> So L., but D. *flec*]

of thy wit. But and if thou trust in thy work, then art thou abominable.

[Here follows a description of the mockery of fasting as the Papists practised it.]

See that ye gather not treasure upon the earth, where rust and moths corrupt, and where thieves break up and steal: But gather you treasure in heaven, where neither rust nor moths corrupt, and where thieves neither break up nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will be your hearts also.

Note the goodly order of Christ's preaching. First he restored the true understanding of the law, then the true intent of the works. And here, consequently, he rebuketh the mortal foe and sworn enemy both of true doctrine and true living, which is covetousness; the root of all evil, saith Paul, (1 Tim. vi.) Covetousness is image-service, (Col. iii.) It maketh men to err from the faith, (1 Tim. vi.) It hath no part in the kingdom of Christ and God, (Eph. v.) Covetousness hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that the faith of the miracles of God could not sink into it. Covetousness did make Balaam, which knew all the truth of God, to hate it, and to give the most pestilent and poisonful<sup>1</sup> counsel against it that heart could imagine, even for to destroy it, if it had been possible. Covetousness taught the false prophets in the old Testament to interpret the law of God falsely, and to pervert the meaning and intent of all the sacrifices and ceremonies, and to slay the true preachers that rebuked them. And with their false persuasions they did lead all the kings of Israel out of the right way, and the most part of the kings of Judah also. And Peter, in the second chapter of his second epistle, prophesieth that there should be false teachers among us, that should follow the way of Balaam (that is to say, for covetousness persecute the truth), and through covetousness with feigned words to make merchandise of the people, and to bring in damnable sects too. And here ye have an infallible rule, that where covetousness is, there is no truth; no, though they call themselves the church, and say thereto that they cannot err. Covetousness kept Judas still in un-

Covetousness, what a pestilence it is. W. T. 1 Tim. vi. Col. iii. Eph. v.

2 Pet. ii.

Covetousness cannot but err. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> So D., but L. has *poison counsel*.—See P.S. I. p. 17, n. 4.]

belief, though he saw and did also many miracles in the name of Christ, and compelled him to sell him to the scribes and Pharisees; for covetousness is a thing merciless. Covetousness made the Pharisees to lie on Christ, to persecute him, and falsely to accuse him. And it made Pilate, though he found him an innocent, yet to slay him. It caused Herod to persecute Christ, yet in his cradle. Covetousness maketh hypocrites to persecute the truth, against their own consciences; and to lie to princes, that the true preachers move sedition and make their subjects to rise against them: and the said covetousness maketh the princes to believe their wicked persuasions, and to lend their swords to shed innocent blood.

Finally, covetousness maketh many, whom the truth pleaseth at the beginning, to cast it up again, and to be afterward the most cruel enemies thereof, after the ensample of Simon Magus; yea, and after the ensample of sir Thomas More, W. T. More, Kt, which knew the truth, and for covetousness forsook it again, and conspired first with the cardinal to deceive the king, and to lead him in darkness: and afterward, when the light was sprung upon them, and had driven them clean out of the scripture, and had delivered it out of their tyranny, and had expelled the dark stinking mist of their devilish glosses, and had wiped away the cobwebs, which those poisoned spiders had spread upon the face of the clear text, so that the spirituality (as they call themselves) were ashamed of their part, as shameless as they be; yet for all that, covetousness blinded the eyes of that gleering fox more and more, and hardened his heart against the truth, with the confidence of his painted poetry, babbling eloquence, and juggling arguments of subtle sophistry, grounded on his "unwritten verities<sup>1</sup>," as true and as authentic as his story of Utopia. Paul therefore biddeth Timothy to charge the rich

Covetousness  
blinded the  
eyes, and  
hardened the  
heart of sir  
Thomas  
More.

[<sup>1</sup> "When they (the Romanists) be not able to prove any of these doctrines by the word of God written, then they fly to their *unwritten verities*; that is, to certain things delivered, as they say, from the apostles by word of mouth, without writing. . . . Whatsoever pleaseth them and maketh for their purpose, profit, and lordly ambition, that is an *unwritten verity*, not to be gainsaid or denied."—The translator's preface to "A Confutation of Unwritten Verities," in Archbishop Cranmer's Remains, Vol. vi. p. 153. Jenkyn's ed. Oxf. 1833. Vol. ii. p. 10, Park. Soc.]

to believe in the living God, and not in their uncertain riches; for it is impossible for a covetous idolater, or image-server, that trusteth in the dead god of his riches, to put his trust in the living God.

One misery is, that they which here gather and lay up, cannot tell for whom. Another is rust, canker, moths, and a thousand misfortunes besides; thieves, extortioners, oppressors, and mighty tyrants, to the which the rich be ever a prey. And though they prosper to the end outwardly, yet fear ever gnaweth their hearts inwardly. And at the hour of death they know and feel that they have gathered nought; and then sorrow they, and are like one that dreameth of riches, and in the morning, when he findeth nought, is heavy and sorry for the remembrance of the pleasant dream. And finally, when they be most loth to die, and hope to live long, then they perish suddenly; after the ensample of that rich man, which intended to make him larger barns and store-houses. Happy therefore is he that layeth up treasure in heaven, and is rich in faith and good works; for the reward thereto promised shall God keep sure for him: no man can take it away. Here is not forbidden to have riches; but to love it, to trust in it, and to be careful for it. For God hath promised to care for us, and to give us enough, and to keep that which is gotten, if we will care to keep his commandments. Whatsoever office or degree thou art in in this world, do the duty of thine office diligently, and trust in God, and let him care. If thou be an husbandman, ear<sup>2</sup> and sow, and husband thy ground, and let God alone for the rest; he will care to make it grow plentifully, and to send seasonable weather to have it in, and will provide thee a good market to sell, &c.

The commodities that follow covetous and worldly rich men.

Luke xii.

In like manner, if thou be a king, do the office of a king, and receive the duties of the king, and let God care to keep thee in thy kingdom. His favour shall do more for thee than a thousand millions of gold. And so of all other: he that hath but a little, and is sure that God shall keep both him and it, is richer than he which hath thousands, and hath none other hope than that he and it must be kept with his own care and policy.

And, finally, mark one point in Luke xiv: "None of them, that refuseth not all that he possesseth, can be my disciple;"

Luke xiv.

[<sup>2</sup> Ear: to plow; as in 1 Sam. viii. 12. Author. version.]

Covetousness  
maketh the  
salt of God's  
word unsa-  
voury.

that is, he that casteth not away the love of all worldly things, can be no scholar of Christ's to learn his doctrine. Then he addeth that "salt is good; but, if the salt be unsavoury," or hath lost his virtue, "what can be seasoned therewith?" Verily, nothing. Now, by salt is understood the doctrine; and the meaning is, if ye be covetous and love worldly things, it will corrupt the salt of your doctrine, so that whatsoever you powder therewith, it shall be more unsavoury than before.

Covetousness  
maketh a  
false prophet.

"Where your treasure is, there are your hearts." If your treasure be in the world, so is the love of your hearts. And if ye love the world, and the things of the world, the love of God is not in you; and the love of God is the love of his commandments: and he that loveth not God's commandments shall never preach them truly, because he loveth them not; but shall corrupt them with glosses, that they may stand with that which his heart loveth, and until they have another sense than ever God gave them. Ergo, no covetous person can be a true prophet. It is not for nought, then, that Christ so oft and so diligently warneth his disciples to beware of covetousness, as of that thing which, he wist well, had ever corrupt the word of God, and ever should.

The light of thy body is thine eye: wherefore, if thine eye be single, all thy body shall be full of light; but and if thine eye be wicked, then shall thy whole body be dark. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

Darkness.  
W. T.

Note the conclusion with a proper similitude. The eye is the light of the body; and by the light of the eye all other members see and are governed. As long as the eye seeth, hand and foot do their duties; neither is there any fear that a man should stumble, or fall into fire or water. But if the eye be blind, all the body is blind; and that so blind, that there is no remedy at all: set a candle before him, he seeth not; give him a lantern in his hand, and yet he goeth not straight: bring him out into the sun, and point him unto that which thou wouldest have him see; it booteth not.

Covetousness  
causeth dark-  
ness. W. T.

Even so, if covetousness have blinded the spiritual eye, and perverted the right intent of the law of God, and of the works commanded by God, and of the sacrifice, ceremonies, and sacraments, and of all other ordinances of God, (which intent is the spiritual eye,) then is all the doctrine dark, and very

blindness: yea, and then how dark is the darkness, when that which is pure blindness is believed to be light! How dark is the doctrine of them that teach that a man may compel God, with the works of free-will, to give him his favour and grace; or make God unrighteous! How dark is the doctrine of them which (to the rebuke of Christ's blood) teach that works do justify before God, and make satisfaction for sins! How blind are they which think prayer to be the pattering of many words; and will therefore not only be praised and paid of the world, but also by the title thereof challenge heaven, and not by the merits of Christ's blood! How dark is the doctrine of them whose faith is only and altogether in appointments which they themselves have feigned between them and God, unto which yet God never subscribed: in which also they assign what work, and how much they will do, and what reward, and how great, God must give them, or choose whether he will be unrighteous.

How dark is the doctrine of them that say stiffly, that the work of the sacraments in itself (not referring it to stir up the faith of the promises annexed to them) doth justify; and affirm, that bodily pain, for the pain itself, (not referring it either to the love of the law of God or of their neighbour,) doth please God! How dark, damnable, and devilish, is the doctrine of them, which not only think lucre to be the service of God, but also are so far past all shame, that they affirm they be the holy church, and cannot err; and all that they decree must be an article of our faith, and that it is damnable once to doubt, or search the scripture whether their doctrine will thereto agree or no; but say their decrees must be believed as they sound, how contrary soever the scripture be, and the scripture must be expounded and made agree to them. They need not to regard the scripture, but to do and say as their Holy Ghost moveth them; and if the scripture be contrary, then make it a nose of wax, and wrest it this way and that way, till it agree.

Faith of works was the darkness of the false prophets, out of the which the true could not draw them. Faith of works was the blindness of the Pharisees, out of the which neither John Baptist nor Christ could bring them. And though John Baptist piped to them with reasons of the scripture invincible, and Christ thereto added miracles, yet the

Darkness.

The darkness of the pope's doctrine here plainly appeareth.

Faith in works is darkness. W. T.

Pharisees would not dance. For John Baptist, as they thought, was too mad, to live so strait a life, and to refuse to be justified thereby: and as for Christ and his disciples, the Pharisees were much holier themselves, fasted oftener, and prayed thicker; yea, and uttered many more words in their prayer than they. Faith of works is that belief of the Turks and Jews, which driveth them ever away from Christ. Faith of works hath been that light of darkness in which a great part of us Christen<sup>1</sup> have walked ever since Pelagius and Faustus<sup>2</sup>, well about twelve hundred years, and ever more and more; and in which all our religious have walked all, and more too, this four or five hundred year; and in which the priests also have walked a long season: the Lord bring them out again!

Darkness.

Finally: how dark is the darkness, when a Pharisee and a very Pelagian standeth up, and preacheth against the Pharisees and the Pelagians, and is allowed of all the audience! And, in conclusion, when the world, ever since it began, hath and doth of natural blindness believe in their own works; then, if the scripture be perverted to confirm that error, how sore are their hearts hardened, and how deep is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for he shall either hate the one, and love the other; or cleave to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

Mammon,  
what it is.  
W. T.

Mammon is riches, or abundance of goods. And Christ concludeth with a plain similitude, that as it is impossible to serve two contrary masters, and as it is impossible to be retained unto two divers lords, which are enemies one to the other, so is it impossible to serve God and mammon. Two masters of one mind and one will might a man serve: for if one will, one mind, and one accord be in twenty, then are they all but one master. And two masters, where one is under the other and a substitute, may a man serve: for the service of the inferior is the commandment of the superior; as to serve and obey father, mother, husband, master, and lord, is God's commandment. But and if the inferior be of a contrary will to the superior, and command any contrary thing, then

[<sup>1</sup> A plural, equivalent to *Christians*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Pelagius, the noted author of the heresy which bears his name, and Faustus, a defender of Manichæism, were propagators of error at the close of the fourth century.]



mayest thou not obey: for now they be two contrary masters. So God and mammon are two contrary masters: yea, two contrary gods, and of contrary commandments.

Mammon  
is a god.

God saith: "I thy Lord God am but one, and me shalt thou serve alone:" that is, thou shalt love me with all thine heart, or with thine whole heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might. Thou shalt neither serve, obey, or love any thing save me, and that I bid thee; and that as far, and no farther than I bid thee.

And mammon saith the same: for mammon will be a god also, and served and loved alone.

God saith: 'See thou love thy neighbour; that thou labour with thine hands to get thy living, and somewhat above, to help him.'

Mammon saith: 'He is called thy neighbour, because he is nigh thee. Now who is so nigh thee as thyself? Ergo, *proximus esto tibi*<sup>3</sup>: that is, love thyself, and make lewd<sup>4</sup> and vile wretches to labour diligently to get thee as much as thou mayest, and some scraps above for themselves. Or wilt thou be perfect? Then disguise thyself, and put on a grey coat, a black or a pied<sup>5</sup>, and give thyself to devotion; despise the world, and take a covetous (I would say a contemplative) life upon thee. Tell the people how hot purgatory is, and what pains there must be suffered for small faults. And then give mercifully a thousand fold for one, spiritual for temporal: give heaven, and take but house and land, and foolish temporal things.'

Mammon  
maketh men  
disguise  
themselves.  
W. T.

God saith: 'Judge truly between thy brethren, and therefore take no gifts.'

Mammon saith: 'It is good manners, and a point of courtesy to take that is offered. And he that giveth thee, loveth thee better than such a churl that giveth thee nought; yea, and thou art more bound to favour his cause.'

God saith: 'Sell and give alms.'

Mammon saith: 'Lay up, to have enough to maintain thine estate, and to defend thee from thine enemies, and to serve thee in thine age, &c.'

[<sup>3</sup> Count thyself thy nearest neighbour.]

[<sup>4</sup> Ignorant.]

[<sup>5</sup> Alluding to the different vestments by which different monastic orders were distinguished from the laity, and from each other.]

The servants  
of mammon  
are not of  
Christ's  
church. W.T.

Forasmuch then as God and mammon be two so contrary masters, that whosoever will serve God must give up mammon, and all that will serve mammon must forsake God; it followeth that they which are the sworn servants of mammon, and have his holy spirit, and are his faithful church, are not the true servants of God, nor have his Spirit of truth in them, or can be his true church.

The servant  
of mammon  
is no true  
preacher.  
W. T.

Moreover, seeing that God and mammon be so contrary, that God's word is death in mammon's ear, and his doctrine poison in mammon's mouth; it followeth that if the ministers of God's word do favour mammon, they will so fashion their speech, and so sound their words, that they may be pleasant in the ears of mammon.

To be  
mammon's  
servant, what  
it is. W. T.

Finally, alonely to have riches is not to be the servant of mammon; but to love it, and cleave to it in thine heart. For if thou have goods only to maintain the office which God hath put thee in, and of the rest to help thy neighbour's need, so art thou lord over thy mammon, and not his servant. Of them that be rich, how shalt thou know the master of mammon from the servant? Verily, first by the getting: secondarily, when his poor neighbour complaineth, if he be mammon's servant, mammon will shut up his heart and make him without compassion. Thirdly, the cross of Christ will try them, the one from the other: for when persecution ariseth for the word, then will the true servant of Christ bid mammon adieu; and the faithful servant of mammon will utter his hypocrisy, and not only renounce the doctrine of Christ, but also be a cruel and a sharp persecutor thereof, to put away all surmise, and that his fidelity, which he hath in his master mammon, may openly appear.

Mammon's  
servant, how  
he is known.  
W. T.

Therefore I say unto you, Care not for your lives what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; neither for your bodies what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body more than the raiment?

The goodness  
of God  
towards  
mankind.

He that buildeth a costly house even to the tiling, will not leave there, and lose so great cost for so small a trifle more. No more will he that gave thee so precious a soul, and so beautiful a body, let either of them perish again before the day, for so small a thing as food or raiment. God never made mouth, but he made meat for it; nor body, but he

made raiment also. Howbeit, mammon blindeth our eyes, so that we can neither see nor judge aright.

Behold the fowls of the air, how they sow not, neither reap, nor gather into store-houses; and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And are not ye far better than they? Which of you with taking thought is able to put one cubit unto his stature?

He that careth for the least of his creatures will much more care for the greatest. The birds of the air and beasts preach all to us, that we should leave caring, and put our trust in our Father. But mammon hath made us so dull and so clean without capacity, that none ensample or argument, be it never so vehement, can enter the wits of us, to make us see or judge aright. Finally, what a madness it is to take so great thought for food or raiment, when the wealth, health, life of thy body, and all together is out of thy power! If all the world were thine, thou couldest not make thyself one inch longer, nor that thy stomach shall digest the meat that thou puttest into it. No, thou art not sure that that which thou puttest into thy mouth shall go through thee, or whether it shall choke thee. Thou canst not make, when thou liest or sittest down, that thou shalt arise again; or when thou sleepest, that thou shalt awake again, or that thou shouldest live one hour longer. So that he which cared for thee, when thou couldest not care, must care for thee still, or else thou shouldest perish. And he will not care for thee to thy soul's profit, if thou mistrust him and care for thyself.

Birds and  
beasts teach  
us to put  
away care.  
W. T.

And for raiment why take ye thought? Behold the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labour not, neither spin. And yet I say to you, that even Salomon in all his glory was not apparelled like one of them. Wherefore, if the grass, which is to day in the fields, and to-morrow shall be cast into the furnace, God so clothe, how much more shall he do the same unto you, O ye of little faith!

Not only fowl and beast, but also tree, herb, and all the flowers of the earth do cry unto us, to trust God; and to cast away care, that is coupled with covetousness of more than sufficient to bear the charges which we have in our hands by the reason of the state we be in the world, and all care that is annexed with mistrust, that God should not minister enough to bear all our charges, if we endeavour ourselves to keep his commandments, and to do every man his craft or office he

is in truly, and (when God, to prove us, suffereth us to have need of our neighbours) we first complain to God, and desire him to prepare the hearts of our neighbours, against we come to desire their help.

Mammon.

But mammon pipeth another song, saying: 'If thou shouldest make no other manner of labour for a benefice, than as if thou caredst not whether thou hadst it or hadst it not, it would be long ere thou gattest one; all would be taken out of thine hand.' I answer: As thy labour was to get it, such shall be thy behaviour in it; as thou flatteredst to have it, so shalt thou in it; and as thou boughtest and soldest to get it, so shall thou sell in it, to buy favour and to be set by in the world. If thy principal intent, that thou seekest a benefice for, be lucre, then take heed to the example of thy forefather Simon Magus. Let thy care therefore be to do the office that God putteth thee in truly; and the blessing, that he coupleth thereto, that take with thanks, and neither care nor covet farther.

Acta viii.

Take no thought therefore, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or what shall we put on? All these things the heathen seek. Yea, and your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things. But seek first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

Be not like the heathen, which have no trust in God nor his word, nor believe any life to come. Let them vex themselves, and each be a devil to another, for worldly things. But comfort thou thyself with the hope of a better life in another world, ever assured that thou shalt have here sufficient, only if thou keep covenant with the Lord thy God, and seek his kingdom and the righteousness thereof above all things. The kingdom of God is the gospel and doctrine of Christ. And the righteousness thereof is to believe in Christ's blood, for the remission of sins: out of which righteousness springeth love to God, and thy neighbour, for his sake; which is also righteousness, as I have said afore, so far as it is perfect, and that which lacketh is supplied by faith in God's word, in that he hath promised to accept that, till more come. Then followeth the outward righteousness of works, by the which, and diligent recording<sup>1</sup> of God's word together, we

Keep covenant with God, and he shall keep promise with thee. W. T.

Kingdom of heaven, what, W. T. Righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, what it is, W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Calling to mind; meditating upon.]

grow and wax perfect, and keep ourselves from going back and losing the Spirit again.

And these have our spirituality with their corrupt doctrine mingled together, (that is to say, the righteousness of the kingdom of God, which is faith in Christ's blood, and the outward righteousness of the members,) that we ascribe to the one that pertaineth to the other. Seek the kingdom of heaven therefore, and the righteousness of the same; and be sure thou shalt ever have sufficient, and these things shall be ministered unto thee, that is to say, shall come of their own accord, by the promise of God; yea, Christ promiseth thee an hundred fold, even in this life, of all that thou leavest for his sake. If that were true, would some say, who would not rather serve him than mammon? Yet is it true: for first, if thou be servant of mammon, thou must keep thy god, and thy god not thee; and every man, that is stronger than thou, will take thy god from thee. Moreover, God will take either thee from thy mammon, or thy mammon from thee, ere thou wouldest; to avenge himself of thy blind unkindness, that when he hath made thee, and given thee all, thou forsakest him and servest his mortal enemy. But if thou follow Christ, all the world (and let them take all the devils in hell to them) shall not be able to disappoint thee of a sufficient living. And though they persecute thee from house to house a thousand times, yet shall God provide thee of another, with all things sufficient to live by. Now compare the surety of this with the uncertainty of the other; and then the blessed end of this (that heaven is promised thee also) with the miserable departing from the other so sore against thy will, and then the desperation that thy heart feeleth that thou art already in hell. And then may not this be well called a thousand fold more than the other?

If thou follow Christ, thou canst not lack a sufficient living.

Care not then for the day following; but let the day following care for itself. For the day that is present hath ever enough of his own trouble.

If thou look well on the covenant that is between thee and thy Lord God, on the one side, and the temptations of the world, the flesh, and Satan on the other, thou shalt soon perceive that the day present hath ever enough to be cared for, and for which thou must cry instantly to God for help

also, though thou do thy best. Now then, seeing the day present is overcharged with her own care, what madness is it to lade upon her also the care of the day following, yea, the care of a year, yea, of twenty years, or as though thou never intendest to die, and to torment and vex the soul through mistrust and unbelief, and to make thy life sour and bitter, and as unquiet as the life of the devils in hell!

What we  
ought chief-  
liest to care  
for.

Therefore care day by day and hour by hour earnestly to keep the covenant of the Lord thy God, and to record therein day and night, and to do thy part unto the uttermost of thy power. And as for God's part, let him care for it himself; and believe thou his words stedfastly, and be sure that heaven and earth shall sooner perish, than one jot bide behind of that he hath promised. And for thine own part also, care not of that manner as though thou shouldest do all alone: nay, God hath first promised to help thee; secondarily, to accept thine heart, and that little that thou art able to do, he it never so imperfect; thirdly, though wind, weather, and the stream carry thee clean contrary to thy purpose, yet, because thou bidest still in thy profession, ready to turn the right course as soon as the tempest is a little overblown, God promiseth to forgive that, and not the less to fulfil his promises of one jot.

Why God  
letteth his  
children be  
tempted with  
adversity.  
W. T.

Doth Christ so defend his, that they never come in danger of trouble? Yes; they come into such straits oft, that no wit nor reason can see any way out, save faith only is sure that God hath, and will make a way through. But that temptation is but for an hour, to teach them, and to make them feel the goodness of their Father, and the passions<sup>1</sup> of their brethren, and of their master Christ also. It is but as a loving mother, to make her child to perceive and feel her kindness, to love her again and be thankful, letteth it hunger in a morning; and when it calleth for his breakfast, maketh as she heard it not, till for pain and impatience it beginneth to cry agood: and then she stilleth it, and giveth it all it asketh, and more too, to please it; and when it is peaced<sup>2</sup> and beginneth to eat, and rejoiceth and is glad and fain, she asketh, 'Who gave thee that, thy mother?' and it saith, 'Yea.' Then saith she, 'Am not I a good mother, that

[<sup>1</sup> Passions: sufferings.]

[<sup>2</sup> Caused to be at peace.]

give thee all things?' And it answereth, 'Yea.' And she asketh, 'Wilt thou love thy mother?' &c. And it saith, 'Yea.' And so cometh it to the knowledge of his mother's kindness, and is thankful. Such is the temptation of Christ's elect, and otherwise not.

Here is not forbidden all manner of care, but that worldly and devilish care, that springeth of an inordinate love to worldly things and of mistrust in God. As for an ensample: I covet inordinately more than sufficient, or but even that I have need of; and it (because I mistrust God, and have no hope in him, and therefore pray not to him) cometh not. Then I mourn, sorrow, and pine away, and am whole unquiet in mine heart. Or whether I have too much, or but sufficient, and love it inordinately, then I care for the keeping: and because I mistrust God, and have no hope in him that he will help me; therefore, when I have locked doors, chambers, and coffers, I am never the nearer at rest, but care still; and cast a thousand perils, of which the most part were not in my might to avoid, though I never slept. And where this care is, there can the word of God have no resting-place; but is choked up, as soon as it is sown.

There is another care, that springeth out of the love of God (for every love hath her care), and is a care to keep God's commandments. This care must every man have. For a man liveth not by bread only, but much more by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. The keeping of God's commandment is the life of a man, as well in this world as in the world to come. As, "Child, obey father and mother; that thou mayest long live on the earth." And by father and mother is understood all rulers; which if thou obey, thy blessing shall be long life; and contrary, if thou disobey, short life, and shalt either perish by the sword, or by some other plague, and that shortly. And even so shall the ruler, if he rule not as God hath commanded. "Oppress thou a widow and fatherless children (saith God), and they shall cry to me, and I will hear their voice; and then will my wrath wax hot; so I will smite you with sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless."

Some will say, 'I see none more prosper, or longer continue, than those that be most cruel tyrants.' What then? Yet say I that God abideth ever true: for where he setteth

What care is  
forbidden.  
W. T.

What care  
every man  
ought to  
have.  
W. T.  
God's com-  
mandment is  
man's life.  
W. T.

Exod. xxi.

Why God  
suffereth  
tyrants to  
prosper.  
W. T.

up a tyrant, and continueth him in prosperity, it is to be a scourge to wicked subjects, that have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God; and unto them his good promises pertain not, save his curses only. But if the subjects would turn and repent, and follow the ways of God, he would shortly deliver them. Howbeit yet, where the superior corrupteth the inferior, which else is disposed enough to goodness, God will not let them long continue.

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#### AN EXPOSITION OF THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; and with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you again. Why lookest thou on the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and markest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Let me pluck out the mote out of thine eye, and, behold, there is a beam in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, pluck first the beam out of thine own eye; and then thou shalt see clearly to pluck the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Judging.

THIS is not meant of the temporal judgments; for Christ forbade not that, but oft did stablish it; as do Peter and Paul in their epistles also. Nor here is it not forbidden to judge those deeds which are manifest against the law of God; for those ought every Christian man to persecute, yet must they do it after the order that Christ hath set. But when he saith, "Hypocrite, cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye," it is easy to understand of what manner of judging he meaneth.

What judging is rebuked.  
W. T.

The hypocrites will have fastings, prayings, kneeling, crouching, ducking, and a thousand ceremonies of their own invention; and whosoever do not as they do, him they count a damned soul by and by. To Christ they say, "Why fast not thy disciples, as the Pharisees do? Why pluck they the ears of corn, and rub them in their hands, (though they did it compelled with pure hunger,) and do that is not lawful on the sabbath-day? Why break ye the traditions of our elders, and wash not when ye sit down to meat? Yea, and why dost thou thyself heal the people upon the holy day? Why didst thou not only heal him that was



bedrid thirty-eight years, but also badest him bear his bed away upon the sabbath-day? Be there not working days sufficient to do good deeds to the praise of God, and profit of thy neighbour, but that thou must break thy sabbath-day? He cannot be but a damned person, that breaketh the holy day, and despiseth the ordinance of the holy church.'

All days are indifferent to do good deeds, to the praise of God, and the profit of our neighbour.

'He eateth butter on Fridays, without a dispensation of our holy father the pope; yea, and cake-bread, made with milk and eggs too, and white meat in the Lent; he taketh no holy water when he cometh to the church; he heareth no mass from Sunday to Sunday. And either he hath no beads at all, or else you shall not hear a stone clink<sup>1</sup> in the hand of him, nor yet his lips wag all the mass and matins while,' &c. "O hypocrite! Cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye, and then thou shalt see" better. Thou understandest all God's laws falsely, and therefore thou keep-est none of them truly: his laws require mercy, and not sacrifice. Moreover, thou hast a false intent in all the works that thou doest, and therefore are they all damnable in the sight of God. "Hypocrite! cast out the beam that is in thine own eye;" learn to understand the law of God truly, and to do thy works aright, and for the intent that God ordained them: and then thou shalt see whether thy brother have a mote in his eye or not; and if he have, how to pluck it out, and else not.

The beam. W. T.

For he that knoweth the intent of the law and of works, though he observe a thousand ceremonies for his own exercise, he shall never condemn his brother, or break unity with him, in those things which Christ never commanded, but left indifferent. Or if he see a mote in his brother's eye, that he observeth not with his brethren some certain ordinance made for a good purpose, because he knoweth not the intent; he will pluck it out fair and softly, and instruct him lovingly, and make him well content. Which thing if our spirituality would do, men would not so abhor to obey their tyranny: but they be hypocrites, and do and command all their works for a false purpose; and therefore judge, slay, and shed their brethren's blood mercilessly. God is the father

Ceremonies: he that breaketh unity for zeal of ceremonies understandeth not God's law. W. T.

Ceremonies.

[<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the custom of measuring the number of aves or paternosters uttered, by dropping at the close of each one stone of the string of beads.]

Rom. xiv.

of all mercy, and therefore gave not hypocrites such absolute power to compel their brethren to obey what they list, or to slay them without pity, shewing either no cause of their commandments at all, but 'So will we have it!' or else assigning an intent damnable and contrary to all scripture. Paul (Rom. xiv.) saith to them that observed ceremonies, that they should not judge them that did not; for he that observeth, and knoweth not the intent, judgeth at once: and to them that observed not, that they should not despise them that observed; he that observeth not ought not to despise the weakness or ignorance of his brother, till he perceive that he is obstinate and will not learn.

Measure.

Moreover, such measure as thou givest, thou shalt receive again: that is, if thou judge thy neighbour, God shall judge thee; for if thou judge thy neighbour in such things, thou knowest not the law of God, nor the intent of works, and art therefore condemned of God, &c.

Give not that holy thing unto dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest they tread them under their feet, and the other turn again and all-to<sup>1</sup> tear you.

Dogs, who  
they be, and  
what is signi-  
fied thereby.

The dogs are those obstinate and indurate, which for the blind zeal of their leaven, wherewith they have soured both the doctrine and also the works, maliciously resist the truth, and persecute the ministers thereof; and are those wolves among which Christ sendeth his sheep, warning them not only to be single and pure in their doctrine, but also wise and circumspect, and to beware of men: for they should bring them before judges and kings, and slay them, thinking to do God service therein; that is, as Paul (to the Romans) testifieth of the Jews, for blind zeal to their own false and feigned righteousness, persecute the righteousness of God.

Swine truly  
described.

The swine are they, which, for all they have received the pure gospel of Christ, will yet continue still in sin, and roll themselves in the puddle and mire of their old filthy conversation, and both before the ignorant, and also the weak, use the uttermost of their liberty; interpreting it after the largest fashion and most favour of the flesh, as it were the pope's pardon; and therewith make that truth evil spoken of,

[<sup>1</sup> An old idiom, which also occurs in Judges ix. 53, Author. Vers., as equivalent to *entirely* or *utterly*.]

that thousands, which else might have been easily won, will now not once hear thereof; and stir up cruel persecution, which else would be much easier, yea, and sometimes none at all. And yet will those swine, when it cometh to the point, abide no persecution at all; but offer themselves willing, even at the first chop, for to deny all, ere they be scarcely apposed of their doctrine. Therefore, lay first the law of God before them, and call them to repentance: and if thou see no hope of mending in them, cease there, and go no farther; for they be swine.

But, alas! it ever was, and shall be, that the greater number receive the words for a newness and curiosity (as they say); and to seem to be somewhat, and that they have not gone to school in vain, they will forthwith, ere they have felt any change of living in themselves, be schoolmasters, and begin at liberty, and practise openly before their disciples. And when the Pharisees see their traditions broken, they rage and persecute immediately. And then our new schoolmasters be neither grounded in the doctrine, to defend their doings; nor rooted in the profession of a new life, to suffer with Christ, &c.

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For all that ask receive; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. For what man is there among you, if his son ask him bread, that would proffer him a stone? Or if he asked him fish, would he offer him a serpent? If ye then, which are evil, know to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him!

First, note of these words, that to pray is God's commandment, as it is to believe in God, to love God, or to love thy neighbour; and so are alms and fasting also. Neither is it possible to believe in God, to love him, or to love thy neighbour, but that prayer will spring out there-hence immediately. For to believe in God is to be sure that all thou hast is of him, and all thou needest must come of him: which if thou do, thou canst not but continually thank him for his benefits, which thou continually, without ceasing, receivest of his hand; and thereto ever cry for help, for thou art ever in need, and canst no whence else be holpen. And thy neighbour is in such necessity also: wherefore, if thou love him, it

Prayer is a  
command-  
ment.  
W. T.

To believe in  
God, what  
W. T.

will compel thee to pity him, and to cry to God for him continually, and to thank as well for him as thyself.

Secondarily, this heaping of so many words together, Luke xviii. "ask, seek, and knock," signify that the prayer must be continual; and so doth the parable of the widow, that sued to the wicked judge: and the cause is, that we are ever in continual necessity, as I said; and all our life [is] but even a warfare and a perpetual battle; in which we prevail as long as we pray, and be overcome as soon as we cease praying: as Israel overcame the Amalekites, as long as Moses held up his hands in prayer; and as soon as he had let down his hands for weariness, the Amalekites prevailed and had the better. Christ warned his disciples at his last supper, to have peace in him; affirming that they should have none in the world. The false prophets shall ever impugn the faith in Christ's blood, and enforce to quench the true understanding of the law, and the right meaning and intent of all the works commanded by God; which fight is a fight above all fights. First, they shall be in such number, that Christ's true disciples shall be but a small flock in respect of them. They shall have works like Christ's; so that fasting, prayer, poverty, obedience, and chastity, shall be the names of their profession. For, as Paul saith to the Corinthians, the angels or messengers of Satan shall change themselves into angels or messengers of light and truth. They shall come in Christ's name, and that with signs and miracles; and have the upper hand also, even to deceive the very elect, if it were possible. Yea, and beyond all this, if thou get the victory of the false prophets, and pluck a multitude out of their hands, there shall immediately rise of the same, and set up a new false sect against thee. And against all these Amalekites the only remedy is to lift up the hands of thy heart to God in continual prayer: which hands if thou for weariness once let fall, thou goest to the worst immediately. Then, beside the fight and conflict of the subtle sophistry, false miracles, disguised and hypocritical works of these false prophets, cometh the dogs and wolves of their disciples, with the servants of mammon, and the swine of thine own scholars: against which all thou hast no other shield or defence but prayer. Then the sins and lusts of thine own flesh, Satan, and a thousand temptations unto evil in the world, will either drive thee to

By prayer  
we win the  
victory only,  
and therefore  
is it of all  
things the  
most neces-  
sary.  
W. T.  
Exod. xvii.

False pro-  
phets, what  
their wicked-  
ness is.  
W. T.

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

Thy heart  
must be  
joined with  
thy prayer.

the castle and refuge of prayer, or take thee prisoner undoubtedly.

Last of all, thy neighbour's necessity and thine own will compel thee to cry, "Father, which art in heaven, give us our daily bread;" though thou wert as rich as king Salomon. For Christ commandeth the rich, as well as the poor, to cry to God continually for their daily bread; and if they have no such need, then is Christ a deceiver and a mocker. What need I to pray thee to give, or lend me, that is in mine own possession already? Is not the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that thou put thy whole trust in him? Which if it were written in thine heart, thou shouldest easily perceive, and though thou hadst as many thousands as David left behind him, and Salomon heaped more to them, that thou hadst no more than the poor beggar that goeth from door to door; yea, and that the beggar (if that commandment be written in his heart) is sure that he is as rich as thou.

The rich  
must pray  
for daily  
bread.  
W. T.

For first, thou must know that thou hast received that great treasure of the hand of God. Wherefore, when thou fetchest an halfpenny thereof, thou oughtest to give God thanks in thine heart for the gift thereof.

Thou must confess, also, that God only hath kept it and thee that same night, and ever before; or else be an idolater, and put thy trust in some other thing than God. And thou must confess, that God only must keep it and thee, the day and night following, and so continually after; and not thine own wit or power, or the wit or power of any other creature or creatures. For if God kept it not for thee, it would be thine own destruction, and they that help thee to keep it would cut thy throat for it. There is no king in christendom so well beloved, but he hath enow of his own evil subjects (if God kept them not down with fear) that would at one hour rise upon him and slay him, to make havoc of all he hath. Who is so well beloved throughout all England, but that there be enow in the same parish, or nigh about, that would, for his good, wish him to hell if they could, and would with their hands destroy him, if God kept him not, and did<sup>1</sup> cast fear on the other?

To think  
ourselves  
saved, or  
preserved,  
by any other  
means than  
by God's, is  
idolatry.

Now, then, if God must ever keep it for thee, and thou

[<sup>1</sup> That is, did not keep him and cast fear, &c.]

must daily receive it of his hand (as a poor man doth receive his alms of another man), thou art in no more surety of thy daily bread, no, though thou were a cardinal, than the poorest is. Wherefore, howsoever rich thou be, yet must thou ever cry to God for thy daily bread. So now it is a commandment to pray, and that continually; short, thick, and oft, as the psalms be, and all the prayers of the bible.

Faith must  
be joined to  
our prayer.  
W. T.

Finally, the third is, that we be commanded to pray with faith and trust; and that we helieve in the Lord our God, and doubt not in his promises, unto which Christ induceth us with an apt similitude, saying, "If ye being evil can give good things unto your children, how much more shall God fulfil his promises of mercy unto his children, if they cry unto him!" He is better and more merciful than all men. Wherefore, seeing God commandeth thee to pray, and forasmuch as thou hast so great necessity so to do, and because he is merciful, and hath promised and is true, and cannot deny his own words; therefore pray; and when thou prayest, look not on thine unworthiness, but on his commandment, mercy, and goodness, and on his truth and faithfulness, and believe stedfastly in him. Moreover, whatsoever thou hast done, yet if thou repent and will amend, he promiseth that he will not think on thy sins. And though he defer thee, think it not long, nor faint not in thy faith, or be slack in thy prayer: for he will surely come and give thee more than thou desirest, though he defer for thy profit, or change thy request into a better thing.

Though God  
defer thy  
request, yet  
must thou  
not faint.

All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would men should do to you, so do ye to them. This is, verily, the law and the prophots.

This is a short sermon, that no man need complain that he cannot, for the length, bear it away. It is so nigh thee, that thou needest not to send over sea for it. It is with thee, that thou needest not to be importune upon master doctor, saying, 'Sir, I pray you, what say ye to this case and to that; and is not this lawful, and may I not so do, and so, well enough?' Ask thine own conscience, what thou mayest or oughtest to do. Wouldest thou men did so with thee? then do it. Wouldest thou not be so dealt with? then do it

Doubts.  
How to soll  
doubts.  
W. T.

not. Thou wouldest not that men should do thee wrong and oppress thee: thou wouldest not that men should do thee shame and rebuke, lie on<sup>1</sup> thee, kill thee, hire thine house from thee, or tice thy servant away, or take against thy will aught that is thine. Thou wouldest not that men should Note. sell thee false ware, when thou-puttest them in trust to make it ready, or lay it out for thee; nor thou wouldest not that men should deceive thee with great oaths, swearing that to be good which indeed is very naught: thou wouldest not, also, that men should sell thee ware that is naught and too dear, to undo thee. Do no such things, then, to thy neighbour. But as loth as thou wouldest be to buy false ware, or too dear, for undoing thyself, so loth be thou to sell false ware, or too dear, for undoing thy neighbour. And in all thy needs how glad thou wouldest be to be helpen, so glad be to help thy neighbour. And so, in all cases, examine thy conscience, and ask her what is to be done, in all doubts between thy neighbour and thee; and she will teach thee, except thou be more filthy than a swine, and altogether beastly.

He saith here, "This is the law and the prophets." And Note. he saith, "Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine Matt. xxii. heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind:" and, as Mark addeth, "with all thy might, and thy neighbour as thyself. In these two commandments hangeth the whole law and the prophets." And Paul (Rom. xiii. and Gal. v.) saith, that "love is the fulfilling of the law." And it is written, that "Christ is" the fulfilling or "end of the law." To make all these agree, this thou must understand; that to love God purely is the final and uttermost end of all the law and the prophets. To love thy neighbour is the end of all laws that The end of all laws between man and man is to love thy neighbour as thyself. is between man and man; as are, kill not, steal not, bear no false witness, commit none adultery, covet not thy neighbour's wife, his house, ox, ass, maid, man-servant, nor aught that is his, &c. Christ is the fulfilling of the law for us, where we be imperfect; and when we break and repent, his fulfilling is imputed unto us. And this text, "This is the law and the prophets," mayest thou understand as when Paul saith, "Love is the fulfilling of the law:" that is, to

[<sup>1</sup> *On* is used for *of* or *against*.]

do as thou wouldest be done to, is all the law that is between thee and thy neighbour; and that according to the true understanding and interpreting of all true prophets.

Enter in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many they be that go in thereat. But strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few they be that find it.

**Straight gate.**  
W. T.

The strait gate is the true knowledge and understanding of the law, and of the true intent of works: which whosoever understandeth, the same shall be driven to Christ, to fetch of his fulness, and to take him for his righteousness and fulfilling of the law, altogether at the beginning, and as oft as we fall afterward, and for more than the thousandth part of our fulfilling of the law and righteousness of our best works all our life long. For except the righteousness of Christ be knit to the best deed we do, it will be too short to reach to heaven.

**The narrow way.** W. T.

And the narrow way is to live after this knowledge. He that will enter in at this gate must be made anew: his head will else be too great; he must be untaught all that he hath learned, to be made less for to enter in; and disused in all things to which he hath been accustomed, to be made less, to walk through that narrow way; where he shall find such an heap of temptations, and so continual, that it shall be impossible to endure or to stand, but by prayer of strong faith.

**Few find the narrow way, and why.**  
W. T.

And note another; that few find the way. Why? For their own wisdom, their own power, and the reasons of their own sophistry, blind them utterly: that is to say, the light of their own doctrine which is in them, is so extreme darkness that they cannot see. 'Should God let his church err,' say they? 'Should our elders have gone out of the way? Should God have let the devil do these miracles,' and so forth? And when Christ saith, "Few shall find the gate;" 'Yea,' say they, 'in respect of the Turks and Saracens, which are the greater multitude.' Yea, but yet hear a little: the scribes and Pharisees, which had all the authority over the people, and taught out of the scripture, and the Sadducees, with all other false prophets that were when Christ



came, were no Turks nor Saracens; neither had God any other church than was among them. And St Peter prophesieth that it shall be so among us; and that we shall be drawn with false sects, of covetousness to deny Christ; as we now do, and believe no more in him. And Paul and Christ confirm the same; that the elect should be deceived, if it were possible. Moreover, if it were enough to say, I will believe and do as mine elders have done, as though they could not err; then was Christ to blame for to say, that except thou forsake father, mother, and thine elders, thou couldest not be his disciple. Christ must be thy master, and thou must be taught of God; and therefore oughtest thou to examine the doctrine of thine elders by the word of God. For the great multitude, that Christ meaneth, are the false prophets and them that follow them: as it shall better appear hereafter.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing; but are within ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, either figs of briars? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is to be hewn down and to be cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Here Christ warneth thee, and describeth unto thee those captains that should so blind the great multitude that they should not find the strait gate, and lead them the broad way to perdition. Note first, that though they be false, yet he calleth them prophets; which word in the new testament is taken for an expounder and an interpreter of scripture. And he saith, "They shall come to you," my disciples. Then they must be our preachers and our doctors. Yea, verily, they must be those our false preachers, which Peter prophesied should be among us, and bring in damnable sects, for to fulfil and satisfy their covetousness, and follow the way and steps of their father Balaam. And they shall come thereto in sheep's clothings: ergo, they be neither the Turks nor yet Saracens. For they come clothed in iron and steel; and will thereto suffer us to keep our faith, if we will submit ourselves to them, as the Greeks do. And as for the Jews,

The false  
prophets,  
who.  
W. T.

they be an hundred times fewer than we, and are everywhere in bondage, yea, and for the great part captives unto us. They also be not clothed in sheep's skins; but maintain openly their faith, clean contrary to ours.

Sheep's clothing, what it meaneth.  
W. T.  
Matt. xxiv.

But what are these sheep's clothings? Truly the very name of Christ. For saith Christ, "There shall come many in my name, and deceive many." And besides that, they shall do miracles in Christ's name; as it followeth in the text, that they shall call Christ, Master, Master, and begin their sermon, saying: 'Our master Christ saith in such a chapter, Whatsoever ye bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; see, friends, these be not our words, but our master Christ's.' And they shall do miracles in Christ's name thereto, to confirm the false doctrine which they preach in his name. O fearful and terrible judgment of Almighty God, and sentence of extreme rigorousness upon all that love not the truth, when it is preached them, that God, to avenge himself of their unkindness, shall send them so strong delusions, that doctrine should be preached unto them in the name of Christ, and made seem to follow out of his words, and be confirmed with miracles done in calling upon the name of Christ, to harden their hearts in the faith of lies, according to the prophecy of Paul to the Thessalonians, in the second epistle!

2 Thess. ii.

Sheep's clothing.  
W. T.

Another of their sheep's coats is, that they shall in every sermon preach mightily against the scribes and Pharisees, against Faustus and Pelagius, with such like heretics; which yet never preached other doctrine than they themselves do. And more of their clothing is, they shall preach that Christ preached alms, prayer, and fasting; and profess obedience, poverty, and chastity; works that our Saviour Christ both preached and did. Finally, they be holy church, and cannot err.

Ravens  
wolves. W. T.

But they be within ravens wolves. They preach to other, "Steal not;" yet they themselves rob God of his honour, and take from him the praise and profit of all their doctrine and of all their works. They rob the law of God of her mighty power, wherewith she driveth all men to Christ; and make her so weak, that the feeble free-will of man is not able to wrestle with her, without calling to Christ for help.

They have robbed Christ of all his merits, and clothed

themselves therewith. They have robbed the soul of man of the bread of her life, the faith and trust in Christ's blood; and have fed her with the shales<sup>1</sup> and cods of the hope in their merits and confidence in their good works.

They have robbed the works commanded by God of the intent and purpose that they were ordained for. And with their obedience they have drawn themselves from under the obedience of all princes and temporal laws. With their poverty they have robbed all nations and kingdoms; and so with their wilful poverty have enriched themselves, and have made the commons poor. With their chastity they have filled all the world full of whores and sodomites, thinking to please God more highly with keeping of a whore than an honest chaste wife. If they say it is not truth, then all the world knoweth they lie; for if a priest marry an honest wife, they punish him immediately, and say he is an heinous heretic, as though matrimony were abominable: but if he keep a whore, then is he a good chaste child of their holy father the pope, whose ensample they follow; and I warrant him sing mass on the next day after, as well as he did before, without either persecution or excommunication: such are the laws of their unchaste (I would say their own chaste) father.

The obedience, poverty, and wilful chastity of our spirituality. W. T.

[Tyndale again exposes the hypocrisy of the clergy, especially the monks and friars, and shows that faith is the kernel of all good works, making them acceptable in God's sight. Even Jews and Turks give alms, but they lack faith. God is as well pleased when we receive His gifts as when we give for His sake. Hypocrites extol their own works and thus destroy the works of God.]

Their holiness is to forbid that God ordained to be received with thanksgiving, as meat and matrimony. And their own works they maintain, and let God's decay. Break theirs, and they persecute to the death: but break God's, and they either look through the fingers, or else give thee a flap with a fox-tail, for a little money. There is none order among them that is so perfect, but that they have a prison more cruel than any jail of thieves and murderers. And if one of

The holiness of hypocrites, wherein it is. W. T.

Ask the Austin Friars, why they murdered one of their fellows at London.  
W. T.

1 Cor. ii.  
Who is the spirituality.

their brethren commit fornication or adultery in the world, he finisheth his penance therein in three weeks or a month; and then is sent to another place of the same religion<sup>1</sup>. But if he attempt to put off the holy habit, he cometh never out, and is so straitly dieted thereto, that it is marvel if he live a year; beside other cruel murder that hath been found among them: and yet is this shameful dieting of theirs murder cruel enough.

Be not deceived with visors<sup>2</sup>, nor yet with miracles. But go to, and judge their works; for "the spiritual judgeth all things," saith Paul. Who is that spiritual? Not such as we now call men of holy church; but all that have the true interpretation of the law written in their hearts, the right faith of Christ, and the true intent of works, which God biddeth us work: he is spiritual, and judgeth all things, and is judged of no man.

Not all that say to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that fulfilleth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say unto me at that day, Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name? and in thy name cast out devils? and did we not in thy name many miracles? Then will I confess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.

This doubling of "Lord" hath vehemency; and betokeneth that they which shall be excluded are such as think themselves better and perfecter than other men, and to deserve heaven with holy works, not for themselves only, but also for other. And by that<sup>3</sup> they prophesied, by which thou mayest understand the interpreting of scripture; and by that they cast out devils, and did miracles in Christ's name, (and for all that, they are yet workers of wickedness, and do not the will of the Father which is in heaven,) it is plain that they be false prophets; and even the same of which Christ warned before.

And now, forasmuch as Christ and his apostles warn us

[<sup>1</sup> Monastic order.]

[<sup>2</sup> L. has *visures*, i.e. *visors*, and this agrees with what follows below: but D. has *visions*.]

[<sup>3</sup> *By that*, or as we should say, *Inasmuch as*. The same idiom occurs in our 13th Article, "For that they are not done."]

that such shall come, and describe us the fashions of their visors, (Christ's name, holy church, holy fathers, and fifteen hundred years, with scripture and miracles,) and command us to turn our eyes from their visors, and consider their fruits, and cut them up, and look within whether they be found in the core and kernel or no, and give us a rule to try them by; is it excuse good enough to say, 'God will not let so great a multitude err; I will follow the most part, and believe as my fathers did, and as the preachers teach, and will not busy myself: choose they, the fault is theirs, and not ours; God shall not lay it to our charge if we err?'

Ignorance  
excuseth not,  
if we will not  
see. W. T.

Where such words be, there are the false prophets already. For where no love to the truth is, there are the false prophets. And where such words be, there to be no love to the truth, is plain; ergo, where such words be, there be the false prophets in their full swing, by Paul's rule (2 Thess. ii.). Another conclusion: where no love to the truth is, there be false prophets; the greatest of the world have least love to the truth: ergo, the false prophets be the chaplains of the greatest, which may with the sword compel the rest; as the kings of Israel compelled to worship the golden calves. And by false prophets understand false teachers, as Peter calleth them, and wicked expounders of the scripture.

False  
prophets,  
how to know  
where they  
be. W. T.

2 Thess. ii.

Whosoever heareth these words of me and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man that built his house upon a rock: and there fell a rain, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; but it fell not, for it was grounded upon a rock. And all that hear of me these words, and do them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, that built his house upon the sand: and there fell a rain, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and dashed upon that house, and it fell; and the fall thereof was great.

Christ hath two sorts of hearers, of which neither neither<sup>4</sup> do thereafter. The one will be saved by faith of their own making, without works; the other with works of their own making, without faith. The first are those voluptuous, which have yielded themselves up to sin, saying, 'Tush, God is merciful, and Christ died for us; that must save us only,

Believers  
without  
works, and  
workers  
without faith,  
are built on  
sand. W. T.

[<sup>4</sup> D. has *neither of them*; but L. and a small octavo edition, without date (probably by Copland, about 1540), have *neither neither*; i. e. *neither the one nor the other*.]

for we cannot but sin without resistance.' The second are the hypocrites; which will deserve all with their own imagined works only. And of faith they have no other experience, save that it is a little meritorious where it is painful to be believed: as that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he came not out the way that other children do;—fie, no, that were a great inconvenience: but above, under her arm, and yet made no hole, though he had a very natural body, and as other men have;—and that there is no bread in the sacrament, nor wine, though the five wits say all yea. And the meritorious pain of this belief is so heavy to them, that except they had feigned them a thousand wise similitudes and lousy likenesses, and as many mad reasons to stay them withal, and to help to captivate their understanding, they were like to cast all off their backs. And the only refuge of a great many, to keep in that faith, is to cast it out of their minds, and not to think upon it: as though they forgive not, yet if they put the displeasure out of their minds, and think not of it till a good occasion be given to avenge it, they think they love their neighbour well enough all the while, and be in good charity.

The papists have that faith in their own works which they should have in Jesus Christ.

And the faith of the best of them is but like their faith in other worldly stories. But the faith, which is trust and confidence to be saved, and to have their sins forgiven by Christ, which was so born, have they not at all: that faith have they in their own works only. But the true hearers understand the law as Christ interpreteth it here, and feel thereby their righteous damnation; and run to Christ for succour, and for remission of all their sins that are past, and for all the sin which chance, through infirmities, shall compel them to do, and for remission of that the law is too strong for their weak nature.

Faith, what it breedeth.

Love.

And upon that they consent to the law, love it, and profess it, to fulfil it to the uttermost of their power, and then go to and work. Faith, or confidence in Christ's blood, without help, and before the works of the law, bringeth all manner of remission of sins, and satisfaction. Faith is mother of love; faith accompanieth love in all her works, to fulfil as much as there lacketh, in our doing the law, of that perfect love which Christ had to his Father and us, in his fulfilling

of the law for us. Now, when we be reconciled, then is love and faith together our righteousness, our keeping the law, our continuing, our proceeding forward in the grace which we stand in, and our bringing to the everlasting saving and everlasting life. And the works be esteemed of God according to the love of the heart. If the works be great, and love little and cold, then the works be regarded thereafter of God. If the works be small, and love much and fervent, the works be taken for great of God.

And it came to pass, that when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one having power, and not as the scribes.

The scribes and Pharisees had thrust up the sword of the word of God into a scabbard or sheath of glosses, and therein had knit it fast, that it could neither stick<sup>1</sup> nor cut; teaching dead works without faith and love, which are the life and the whole goodness of all works, and the only thing why they please God. And therefore their audience abode ever carnal and fleshly-minded, without faith to God and love to their neighbours.

Christ's words were spirit and life: that is to say, they ministered spirit and life, and entered into the heart, and grated on the conscience; and, through preaching the law, made the hearers perceive their duties; even what love they owed to God, and what to man, and the right damnation of all them that had not the love of God and man written in their hearts; and, through preaching of faith, made all that consented to the law of God feel the mercy of God in Christ, and certified them of their salvation. For "the word of God

John vi.

Heb. iv.

is a two-edged sword, that pierceth and divideth the spirit and soul of man asunder." A man before the preaching of God's word is but one man, all flesh; the soul consenting unto the lusts of the flesh, to follow them. But the sword of the word of God, where it taketh effect, divideth a man in two, and setteth him at variance against his own self; the flesh baling one way, and the spirit drawing another; the flesh raging to follow lusts, and the spirit calling back again, to follow the law and will of God. A man, all the while

The word of God, where it taketh effect, divideth a man into two parts; that is, causeth the flesh to hold one way, and the spirit to draw another.

[<sup>1</sup> Old English for *pierce*.]

he consenteth to the flesh, and before he be born again in Christ, is called soul<sup>1</sup> or carnal: but when he is renewed in Christ through the word of life, and hath the love of God and of his neighbour, and the faith of Christ written in his heart, he is called spirit or spiritual<sup>2</sup>. The Lord of all mercy send us preachers with power; that is to say, true expounders of the word of God, and speakers to the heart of man; and deliver us from scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, and all false prophets! Amen.

[<sup>1</sup> ψυχικόν. 1 Cor. xv. 46.]

[<sup>2</sup> πνευματικόν. Id. *ibid.*]



# IV. SPECIMEN TRANSLATIONS

## I

### 1 CORINTHIANS XIII.

[From 1534 Worms Edition. The 1535 text is identical, but in 1526 Tyndale wrote *speake* for *spake* in line 1, and for *or* and *cymbal* for *cymball* in line 2 f., and inserted *all* before *childesshnes* in line 23. In the first specimen original spelling is kept, but in the second it is modernised to facilitate comparison with later versions.]

THOUGH I spake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as soundinge brasse: or as a tynklynge Cymball. And though I coulde prophesy, and vnderstode all secretes, and all knowledge: yee, yf I had all fayth so that I coulde move mountayns oute of ther places, and yet had no love, I were nothyng. And though I bestowed all my gooddes to fede the poore, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profeteth me nothinge.

Love suffreth longe, and is corteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not frowardly, swelleth not dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not her awne, is not provoked to anger, thynketh not evyll, reioyseth not in inquite: but reioyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thyng, beleveth all thynges, hopeth all thynges, endureth in all thynges. Though that prophesyng fayle, other tonges shall cease, or knowledge varysshe awaye, yet love falleth never awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnperfect, and oure prophesyng is vnperfet. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is vnperfet shall bedone awaye. When I was a chylde, I spake as a chylde, I vnderstode as a childe, I ymagened as a chylde. But assone as I was a man, I put awaye childesshnes. Now we se in a glasse even in a darke speakyng: but then shall we se face to face. Now I knowe vnperfectly: but then shall I knowe even as I am known. Now abideth fayth, hope, and love, even these thre: hut the chefe of these is love.

## II

## ISAIAH LIII.

[The Epistle for the Wednesday after Palm Sunday according to the Sarum Use, from the Old Testament epistles attached to the 1534 New Testament.]

ESAIAS said, Lord, who believeth our sayings, and the arm of the Lord, to whom is it opened? He came up as a sparrow before him, and as a root out of a dry land. There was neither fashion or beauty on him. And when we looked on him, there was no godliness that we should lust after him. He was despised and cast out of men's company, and one that had suffered sorrow, and had experience of infirmity: and we were as one that had hid his face from him. He was so despicable, that we esteemed him not. Truly he took upon him our diseases, and bore our sorrows. And yet we counted him plagued, and beaten and humbled of God. He was wounded for our transgression, and bruised for our iniquities. The correction that brought us peace was on him, and with his stripes we were healed. And we went astray as sheep, and turned every man his way: and the Lord put on him the wickedness of us all. He suffered wrong and was evil entreated, and yet opened not his mouth: he was as a sheep led to be slain: and as a lamb before his shearer, he was dumb and opened not his mouth. By the reason of the affliction, he was not esteemed: and yet his generation who can number? When he is taken from the earth of living men: for my people's transgression he was plagued. He put his sepulchre with the wicked, and with the rich in his death: because he did none iniquity, neither was guile found in his mouth. And yet the Lord determined to bruise him with infirmities. His soul giving herself for transgression, he shall see seed of long continuance, and the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. Because of the labour of his soul he shall see and be satisfied. With his knowledge, he being just, shall justify my servants and that a great number: and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore I will give him his part in many and the spoil of the rich he shall divide: because he gave his soul to death, and was numbered with the tresspassers, and he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for transgressors.

## *Extracts*

This section contains selections from works  
too long for complete reproduction.



## V. TYNDALE AND GEORGE JOYE

### [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

SOME account has already been given in the introduction of the controversy between Tyndale and Joye (see pp. xxvii ff.). In August 1534 Joye published an unauthorised revision of Tyndale's New Testament from the press of Endhoven's widow in Antwerp. Tyndale was furious, and added a supplementary preface to his own revision, which at the time was almost complete, and which subsequently appeared later the same year from the press of Martin de Keyser in Antwerp. This preface makes a threefold charge against Joye. First, his activities constituted a breach of friendship since he knew Tyndale was making his own revision. Second, Joye had introduced his own theological presuppositions. Third, he had done all this anonymously, and so misled people into thinking it was the work of Tyndale.

Section I below gives Tyndale's supplementary preface, and Section II shows Joye's prompt answer, again printed by Endhoven's widow Catharyn on 9 January, 1535, attached to a re-issue of Joye's revision.

The following month Joye published his 'Apology,' a wordy treatise in which he continues his argument about the resurrection, and then criticises both Tyndale's translation and his behaviour. Extracts from this are given in Sections III and IV, translated into modern English as is the case with the other sections. The original inconsistent spellings and abbreviations are preserved.]

## I. TYNDALE'S COMPLAINT.

*William Tyndale yet once more unto the Christian Reader.*

THOU shalt understand, most dear reader, when I had taken in hand to look over the New Testament again and to compare it with the Greek, and to mend whatsoever I could find amiss, and had almost finished the labour, George Joye secretly took in hand to correct it also by what occasion his conscience knoweth, and prevented me, in so much, that his correction was printed in great number, ere mine began. When it was spied and word brought to me, though it seemed to divers other that George Joye had not used the office of an honest man, seeing he knew that I was in correcting it myself, neither did walk after the rules of that love and softness which Christ, and his disciples, teach us, how that we should do nothing of strife to move debate, or of vainglory or of covetousness. Yet I took the thing in worth as I have done divers other in time past, as one that hath more experience of the nature and disposition of the man's complexion, and supposed that a little spice of covetousness and vainglory (two blind guides) had been the only cause that moved him so to do, about which things I strive with no man, and so followed after and corrected forth and caused this to be printed, without surmise or looking on his correction.

But when the printing of mine was almost finished, one brought me a copy and showed me so many places, in such wise altered that I was astonied and wondered not a little what fury had driven him to make such change and to call it a diligent correction. For throughout Matthew, Mark and Luke perpetually, and often in Acts, and some time in John and also in the Hebrews, where he findeth this word Resurrection, he changeth it into "life after this life," or "very life," and such like, as one that abhorred the name of the resurrection.

If that change, to turn resurrection into life after this life, be a diligent correction, then must my translation be faulty in those places, and St Jerome's, and all the translators that ever I heard of in what tongue so ever it be, from the apostles unto this his diligent correction (as he calleth it) which whether it be so or no, I permit it unto other men's judgments.

But of this I challenge George Joye, that he did not put his own name thereto and call it rather his own translation, and that he playeth boo peep, and in some of his books putteth in his name and title. and in some keepeth it out. It is lawful for who will, to translate and show his mind, though a thousand had translated before him. But it is not lawful (thinketh me) nor yet expedient for the edifying of the unity of the faith of Christ, that whosoever will shall by his own authority, take another man's translation and put out and in and change at pleasure, and call it a correction.

Moreover, ye shall understand that George Joye hath had of a long time marvellous imaginations about this word resurrection, that it should be taken for the state of the souls after their departing from their bodies, and hath also (though he hath been reasoned with thereof and desired to cease) yet sown his doctrine by secret letters on that side [of] the sea, and caused great division among the brethren. In so much that John Frith, being in prison in the Tower of London, a little before his death, wrote that we should warn him and desire him to cease, and would then have written against him, had I not withstood him. Thereto I have been since informed that no small number through his curiosity, utterly deny the resurrection of the flesh and body, affirming that the soul when she is departed, is the spiritual body of the resurrection, and other resurrection shall there none be. And I have talked with some of them myself, so doted in that folly, that it were as good persuade a post, as to pluck that madness out of their brains. And of this all is George Joye's unquiet curiosity the whole occasion, whether he be of the said faction also, or not, that let him answer himself.

If George Joye will say (as I wot well he will) that his change is the sense and meaning of those scriptures, I answer that it is sooner said than proved. Howbeit let other men judge. But though it were the very meaning of the scripture, yet if it were lawful after his example to every man to play boo peep with the translations that are before him, and to put out the words of the text at his pleasure and to put in everywhere his meaning, or what he thought the meaning were, that were the next way to stablsh all heresies and to destroy the ground wherewith we should improve them. As for an example, when Christ saith (Jn. v.) "The time shall come in

the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth ; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, or with the resurrection of life, and they [that] have done evil, unto the resurrection or with the resurrection of damnation," George Joye's correction is, " they that have done good shall come forth into the very life, and they that have done evil into the life of damnation," thrusting clean out this word resurrection. Now by the same authority, and with as good reason, shall another come and say of the rest of the text, they that are in sepulchres, shall hear his voice, that the sense is, the souls of them that are in the sepulchres shall hear his voice, and so put in his diligent correction and mock out the text, that it shall not make for the resurrection of the flesh, which thing also George Joye's correction doth manifestly affirm. If the text be left uncorrupt, it will purge itself of all manner of false glosses, how subtle soever they be feigned, as a seething pot casteth up her scum. But if the false gloss be made the text, diligently overseen and correct<sup>1</sup>, wherewith then shall we correct false doctrine and defend Christ's flock from false opinions, and from the wicked heresies of ravening of wolves ? In my mind therefore a little unfeigned love after the rules of Christ, is worth much high learning, and single and slight understanding that edifyeth in unity, is much better than subtle curiosity, and meekness better than bold arrogance and standing overmuch in a man's own conceit.

Wherefore, concerning the resurrection, I protest before God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and before the universal congregation that believeth in him, that I believe according to the open and manifest scriptures and catholic faith, that Christ is risen again in the flesh, which he received of his mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and body wherein he died. And that we shall all, both good and bad, rise both flesh and body, and appear together before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive every man according to this deeds. And that the bodies of all that believe and continue in the true faith of Christ, shall be endued with like immortality and glory as is the body of Christ.

And I protest before God and our Saviour Christ and all that believe in him, that I hold of the souls that are departed as much as may be proved by manifest and open scripture,

[<sup>1</sup> This is a sarcastic quotation.]



and think the souls departed in the faith of Christ and love of the law of God. to be in no worse case than the soul of Christ was, from the time that he delivered his spirit into the hands of his father. until the resurrection of his body in glory and immortality. Nevertheless, I confess openly, that I am not persuaded that they be already in the full glory that Christ is in, or the elect angels of God are in. Neither is it any article of my faith. For. if it were so, I see not but then the preaching of the resurrection of the flesh were a thing in vain. Notwithstanding yet I am ready to believe it, if it may be proved with open scripture. And I have desired George Joye to take open texts that seem to make for that purpose, as this is, "Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise," to make thereof what he could. and to let his dreams about this word resurrection go. For I receive not in the scripture the private interpretation of any man's brain, without open testimony of any scriptures agreeing thereto.

Moreover I take God (which alone seeth the heart) to record to my conscience. beseeching him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote of all that I have written throughout all my book. ought of any evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man. or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the church of Christ, or to be author of any sect, or to draw disciples after me. or that I would be esteemed or had in price above the least child that is born. save only of pity and compassion I had. and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them unto the knowledge of Christ, and to make every one of them, if it were possible as perfect as an angel of heaven, and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly father, and to bring down all that lifteth up itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ. Also, my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach, and also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin and other men's indifferently, beseeching God to convert us all, and to take his wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men, as to mine own soul, caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the king and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

As concerning all I have translated or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it, even to

bring them to the knowledge of the scripture. And as far as the scripture approveth it, so far to allow it, and if in any place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our saviour Christ and his congregation. And where they find faults, let them show it me, if they be nigh, or write to me, if they be far off, or write openly against it and improve it, and I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly.

Wherefore I beseech George Joye, yea and all other too, for to translate the scripture for themselves, whether out of Greek, Latin or Hebrew. Or (if they will needs) as the fox when he hath pissed in the graye's<sup>1</sup> hole challengeth it for his own, so let them take my translations and labours, and change and alter, and correct and corrupt at their pleasures, and call it their own translations, and put to their own names, and not to play boo peep after George Joye's manner. Which whether he have done faithfully and truly, with such reverence and fear as becometh the word of God, and with such love and meekness and affection to unity and circumspection that the ungodly have none occasion to rail on the verity, as becometh the servants of Christ, I refer it to the judgments of them that know and love the truth. For this I protest, that I provoke not Joye nor any other man (but am provoked, and that after the spitefullest manner of provoking) to do sore against my will and with sorrow of heart that I now do. But I neither can nor will suffer of any man, that he shall go take my translation and correct it without name, and make such changing as I myself durst not do, as I hope to have my part in Christ, though the whole world should be given me for my labour.

Finally, that New Testament thus diligently corrected, beside this so oft putting out this word resurrection, and I wot not what other change, for I have not yet read it over, hath in the end before the Table of the Epistles and Gospels this title:

(Here endeth the New Testament dylygentlye oversene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp, by me wydow of Christophell of Endhoven. In the yere of oure Lorde. A.M.D. xxxiiii in August) Which title, reader, I have here put in because by this thou shalt know the book the better. Vale.

[<sup>1</sup> A badger.]

## II. JOYE'S ANSWER

*Unto the Reader*

THUS endeth the New Testament printed after the copy corrected by George Joye: wherein for englishing this word *Resurrectio*, the life after this, W. Tindale was so sore offended that he wrote his uncharitable epistle against me prefixed [to] his new corrected testament, printed 1534 in November, entitled W. T. yet once more to the Christian reader. Which epistle W. T. hath promised before certain men and me (or else I would myself have defended my name and cleared myself of those lies and slanders there written of me) that he would call again his epistle and so correct it, redress it, and reform it according to my mind that I should be therewith contented, and us both (as agreed) to salute the readers with our salutation in the same reformed epistle to be set before his testament now in printing. And that I, for my part should (a reckoning and reason first given of my translation of the word) permit it unto the judgment of the learned in Christ's church. Which thing, verily I do not only gladly consent thereto, upon the condition on his part, but desire them all to judge, expend and try all that ever I have or shall write by the scriptures.

Let it not therefore in the mean season offend thee (good indifferent reader) not yet avert thy mind neither from W. Tindale nor from me; nor yet from reading our books which teach and declare the very doctrine and Gospel of Christ, because it thus chanceth us to vary and contend for the true englishing of this one word *Resurrectio* in certain places in the New Testament. For I doubt not but that God hath so provided it, that our strife and dissent shall be unto his church the cause of a perfecter concord and consent in this matter, no man to think henceforth that the souls departed sleep without heaven feeling neither pain nor joy until domesday, as the Anabaptists dream, but to be alive in that life after this whith<sup>1</sup>, and in Christ in bliss and joy in heaven, as the Scriptures clearly testify. Which verily and true doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as it is a sweet and present consolation unto the poor afflicted persecuted and troubled in this world for Christ's sake when they shall die, so doth the other false opinion and

[<sup>1</sup> ? With thee.]

erroneous doctrine, that is to wit, that they sleep out of heaven neither feeling pain nor joy, minister and give perilous audacity and bold sureness to the ungodly here to lie still and continue in their wickedness, since they see and be so taught that after their departing there is no punishment but sleep and rest as well as do the souls of the good and righteous till domesday. Which day as some of them do believe to be very long ere it come, so do many of them believe that it shall never come. Also to strive for the knowledge of the truth with a meek and godly contention hath happened unto far perfecter men than we be both. Neither have there been ever any fellowship so few and small, but some time such breach and imperfection hath happened among them for a little season (as I trust in God this shall not continue long between us two) yea and that even among the apostles as between Paul and Peter, and Paul and Barnabas. This thing (I say) may fall upon us also to learn men that all men be but liars and may err, and to warn us that we depend not wholly upon any man's translation nor his doctrine neither to be sworn nor addict to any man's learning, make he never so holy and devout protestations and prologues, but to measure all men's writings, works and words with the infallible word of God to whom be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

### III. JOYE'S APOLOGY.

Extracts from 'An apology made by George Joye to satisfy (if it may be) W. Tindale, to purge and defend himself against so many slanderous lies, feigned upon him in Tindale's uncharitable and unsober pistle, so well worthy to be prefixed for the reader, to induce him into the understanding of his New Testament diligently corrected.'

(The only known copy of this book is in the Cambridge University Library.)

#### *How we were once agreed*

AFTER that W. Tyndale had put forth in print and thrustred his uncharitable epistle into many men's hands, his friends and mine understanding that I had prepared my defence to purge and clear my name which he had defamed and defiled,

called us together to move us to a concord and peace, where I showed them my great grief and sorrow, for that he should say falsely, belie and slander me of such crimes which I never thought, spake, nor wrote, and of such which I know well his own conscience doth testify the contrary, even that I denied the Resurrection of the body, but believe it is constantly as himself: and this with other heinous crimes which he impingeth unto me in his epistle, neither he nor no man else shall never prove. Wherefore except Tin. (said I) will revoke the slanders feigned upon me himself, I will (as I am bound) defend my fame and name, which there is nothing to me more dear and leif. And, to be short after many words, it was thus through the motion of our friends concluded for our agreement and peace: That I should for my part (a reason and reckoning first given why I translated this word *Resurrectio* into the life after this) permit and leave my translation unto the judgment of the learned in Christ's church. And T. on his part should call again his epistle into his hand, so to redress it, reform it, and correct it from such slanderous lies as I was therewith offended and he could not justify them, that I should be therewith well contented, T. adding with his own mouth that we should with one accord in his next testament, then in printing, instead of this uncharitable epistle wherewith I was offended, salute the readers with one common salutation to testify our concord. Of these conditions we departed lovingly. Then after five or six days I came to Tin. to see the correction and reformation of his epistle, and he said he never thought of it since. I prayed to him to make it ready shortly (for I longed sore to see it) and came again to him after five or six days. Then he said it was so written that I could not read it, and I said I was well acquainted with his hand and should read it well enough, but he would not let me see it. I came again the third time, desiring him to see it, but then had he betbought him of this cavillation contrary to the conditions of our agreement, that he would first see my reasons and write against them ere I should see this his reformation and revocation. Then thought I, since my part and reasons be put into the judgment of the learned, T. ought not to write against them till their judgment be done, no nor yet then neither, since he is content before these men to stand to their judgment, and not to contend any more of this matter with me. Yet I came again

the fourth time, and, to be short, he persisted in his last purpose and would first see my reasons and write against them and then leave the matter to the judgment of Dr Barnes<sup>1</sup> and of his fellow called Aepinus, pastor of St Nicholas' parish in Hamburg, adding that he would revoke that ever he wrote that I should deny the resurrection. Then I told one of the men that was present at the conditions of our agreement all this matter, and wrote unto the other these answers that I had, so oft seeking upon T. to be at peace and to stand to his promise, desiring them all to move him and advise him to hold his promise, or else, if he would not, then not to blame me though I defend myself and clear my fame which he hath thus falsely and uncharitably denigrated, deformed, and hurt. But, in conclusion, I perceived that T. was half ashamed to revoke according to his promise all that he could not justify by me, and with which I was so offended. Wherefore since he would not keep promise, I am compelled to answer here now for myself, which I desire every indifferent reader to judge indifferently.

#### IV. JOYE'S EXPLANATION.

Lo good reader, here mayst thou see of what nature and complexion T. is so suddenly, fiercely, and boldly to chop into any man's conscience and so to usurp and prevent the office of God in judgment, which is only the enser and searcher of heart and mind. This godly man judgeth and noteth me vainglorious, curious and covetous, and all for correcting a false copy of the testament that they might be the trulier printed again, and so not so many false books sold into the realm to the hurt and deceit of the buyers and readers of them. I corrected but the false copy whereby and after which the printer did set his book and corrected the same himself in the press.

[<sup>1</sup> Robert Barnes, born in Norfolk in 1495, studied at Louvain, became prior of the Augustinians in Cambridge, led to Reformation views by Bilney. Tried in 1526 and imprisoned. Escaped to the Continent. This learned Reformer was eventually burnt at Smithfield in 1540. See D. B. Knox, *The Doctrine of Faith*, London, 1961, pp. 63-70.]

But I shall now plainly and singly (for the truth knoweth no fucated<sup>1</sup>, polished and painted oration) declare unto every man, whereof, how, and by whom I was moved and desired to correct this false copy, that should else have brought forth more than two thousand falser books more than ever England had before.

First, thou shalt know that Tindal about eight or nine years ago translated and printed the new testament in a mean great volume<sup>2</sup>, but yet without Calendar, concordances in the margin, and table in the end. And anon after the Dwche<sup>3</sup> men got a copy, and printed it again in a small volume adding the calendar in the beginning, concordances in the margin, and the table in the end. But yet, for that they had no Englishman to correct the setting, they themselves having not the knowledge of our tongue, were compelled to make many more faults than were in the copy, and so corrupted the book that the simple reader might oft times be tarried and stuck. After this they printed it again also without a corrector in a greater letter and volume with the figures in the Apocalypse which were therefore much falser than their first. When these two prints (there were of them both about five thousand books printed) were all sold more than a twelve month ago, Tind. was pricked forth to take the testament in hand, to print it and correct it as he professeth and promiseth to do in the latter end of his first translation<sup>4</sup>. But T. prolonged and deferred so necessary a thing and so just desires of many men. In so much that in the mean season, the Dwche<sup>3</sup> men printed it again the third time in a small volume like their first print, but much more false than ever it was before. And yet was T. here called upon again, seeing there were so many false printed books still put forth and bought up so fast (for now was there given, thanked be God, a little space to breathe and rest unto Christ's church after so long and grievous persecution for reading the books). But yet before this third time of printing the book, the printer desired me to correct it. And I said it were well done (if ye printed them again) to make them truer and not to deceive our nation with

[<sup>1</sup> Disguised.]

[<sup>2</sup> The 1526 Worms octavo edition. For other editions mentioned, see the introduction p. xxviii.]

[<sup>3</sup> Not Dutch, but German.]

[<sup>4</sup> See pp. 27 ff.]

any more false books, nevertheless I suppose that T. himself will put forth more perfect and newly corrected, which if he do, yours shall be naught set by nor never sold. This notwithstanding yet they printed them and that most false and about two thousand books, and had shortly sold them all. All this long while T. slept, for nothing came from him as far as I could perceive. Then the Dewche<sup>3</sup> began to print them the fourth time because they saw no man else going about them, and after they had printed the first leaf which copy another Englishman had corrected to them, they came to me and desired me to correct them their copy, whom I answered as before, that if T. amend it with so great diligence as he promiseth, yours will be never sold. Yes, quoth they, for if he print two thousand and we as many, what is so little number for all England? and we will sell ours better cheap, and therefore we doubt not of the sale; so that I perceived well and was sure, that whether I had corrected their copy or not, they had gone forth with their work and had given us two thousand more books, falsly printed than ever we had before. Then I thus considered with myself: England hath enough and too many false testaments and is now likely to have many more: yea and that whether T. correct his or no, yet shall those now in hand go forth uncorrected too, except somebody correct them: and what T. doeth I wot not, he maketh him nothing of his counsel, I see nothing come from him all this long while. Wherein with the help that he hath, that is to say one both to write it and to correct it in the press, he might have done it thrice since he was first moved to do it. For T., I know well, was not able to do it without such a helper which he hath ever had hitherto. After this (I say) considered, the printer came to me again and offered me two stivers and a half for the correcting of every sheet of the copy, which folden containeth sixteen leaves, and for three stivers which is four pence halfpenny sterling, I promised to do it so that in all I had for my labour but fourteen shillings Flemish, which labour, had not the goodness of the deed and common profit and help to the readers compelled me more than the money, I would not have done it for five times so much, the copy was so corrupt and especially the table, and yet saith T. I did it of covetousness. If this be covetousness, then was Tindal much more covetous, for he (as I hear say) took ten pounds for his correc-



tion. I did it also, sayeth he, of curiosity and vainglory, yea and that secretly: and did not put to my name, which, I say, be two evident tokens that I sought no vainglory, for he that doth a thing secretly and putteth out his name, how seeketh he vainglory? And yet is not the man ashamed to write that vainglory and covetousness were my two blind guides, but I tell Tin. again, that if malice and envy (for all his holy protestations) had not been his two blind guides, he would never have thus falsely, uncharitably, and so spitefully belied and slandered me with so perpetual an infamy. Tin. sayeth I walked not after the rules of love and softness, but let men read how maliciously he beliieth and slandereth me for well doing; and judge what rule of love and softness he observeth. It is great shame to the teacher when his own deeds and words reprove and condemn himself. He hath great experience of my natural disposition and complexion, sayeth he. I will not be his physician and discern his water at this time. And as for his two disciples that gaped so long for their master's morsel that they might have the advantage of the sale of his books of which one said unto me. It were almose<sup>1</sup> he were hanged that correcteth the testament for the Dwche, and the other harped on his master's untuned string, saying that because I english Resurrection the life after this, men gathered that I denied the general resurrection, which error (by their own saying) was gathered long before this book was printed, unto which either of these disciples I seemed no honest man for correcting the copy, I will not now name them, nor yet say how one of them, never I dare say seeing St Jerome's *de optimo genere interpretandi*, yet took upon him to teach me how I should translate the scriptures, where I should give word for word, and when I should make scholias, notes, and glosses in the margin as himself and his master doeth. But in good faith as for me I had as lief put the truth in the text as in the margin and, except the gloss expound the text, (as many of theirs do not) or where the text is plain enough, I had as lief leave such frivolous glosses cleau out. I would the scripture were so purely and plainly translated that it needed neither note, gloss nor scholia<sup>2</sup>, so that the reader might once swim

[<sup>1</sup> Almose, alms, a mercy.]

[<sup>2</sup> Like most of the Reformers Tyndale preferred annotated texts, but he was probably prepared to accept a plain text as a compromise and to achieve a wider readership.]

without a cork. But this testament was printed or T. has begun, and that not by my prevention, but by the printers' quick expedition and T.'s own long sleeping, for, as for me, I had nothing to do with the printing thereof, but corrected their copy only, as where I found a word falsely printed, I mended it; and when I came to some dark sentences that no reason could be gathered of them whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator or of the printer, I had the Latin text by me and made it plain; and where any sentence was imperfect or clean left out, I restored it again, and gave many words their pure and native signification in their places, which they had not before. For my conscience so compelled me to do, and not willingly and wittingly to slip over such faults unto the hurt of the text or hindrance of the reader.

## VI. THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN

¶ The Obedience of a Christen man, and how  
Christen rulers ought to governe, wherein  
also (if thou marke diligently) thou shalt find eyes to  
perceave the craftie conuepaunce of all iugglers.

Set forth by William Tyndall. 1528. Octob. 2.

### [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

THIS work appeared in October 1528, and represents Tyndale's answer to the charge of being disloyal and stirring up rebellion against the rulers. Since the Peasants' Revolt in Germany, the Papists had been quick to bring this charge against Luther and other Reformers.

A long preface encourages those who are suffering for their faith and for reading the Scriptures, and gives reasons why the Bible should be translated into the vernacular. The latter section forms the first extract (P.S. I. 144-62). The prologue, which is the second extract given (P.S. I. 163-7), explains that corruption in the Church rather than the vernacular Bible has caused the present troubles. The main theme of the book itself, as the title implies, is that of obedience. Tyndale deduces from the Bible the principle of obedience to authority in domestic and civil life. In the latter sphere he shows the necessity of obeying the godly prince, but the prince is warned of God's judgment if he acts contrary to God's laws.

The work received a mixed reception. Henry VIII was in general pleased with it, More called it a work in which men were urged to disobey God's church, while Foxe tells us that it was widely read, and mentions in particular its influence on the martyr Thomas Bilney. For a fuller account of the work see the Introduction, pp. xxx f.

The third extract (P.S. I. 303-31) comes from the penultimate section of the book where Tyndale returns to the subject of the Bible, dealing this time with its interpretation.

As elsewhere, the editor has collated Day's edition with earlier ones, and the initials W. T. indicate the early notes.]

## I

## THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

*Extract from The Preface*

[THE preface encourages those who are suffering by showing that persecution is to be expected and proves the reality of their faith. God will deal with those who despise His Word. Tyndale then makes his case for the Bible in the language of the people.]

WILLIAM TYNDALE, OTHERWISE  
CALLED HITCHINS, TO THE READER.

That the  
scripture  
ought to be  
in the Eng-  
lish tongue.  
W. T.

That thou mayest perceive how that the scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary, are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow them blindfold, and be their captive to honour their ceremonies, and to offer to their belly :

First, God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses in their mother tongue ; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured, and described in ceremonies, in riddles, and parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the old Testament, with the new also, which is the light of the old, and wherein is openly declared, before the eyes, that which there was darkly prophesied ? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of anti-christ and juggling of hypocrites. What should be the cause that we, which walk in the broad day, should not see as well as they that walked in the night ; or that we should not see as well at noon, as they did in the twilight ? Came Christ to make the world more blind ? By this means Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light, as he saith himself.

[Children cannot be taught as Moses urged in Deut. vi., if the Bible is not translated.]

They will say haply, the scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind: and therefore the lay-man, because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain caso that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no lay-man is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay-people any great thing, but at their assignment.

'If the scripture were in the mother tongue,' they will say, 'then would the lay-people understand it, every man after his own ways.' Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not: and then would they believe it, because it is the scripture of God, though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary, and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies, and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But, alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the new or old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not: neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pie and popinjay speak, they wot not what, to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the lay-man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it; which for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing, and say, and patter all day, with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not.

Christ commandeth to search the scriptures. John v. Though that miracles bare record unto his doctrine, yet de-

Holy days.  
W. T.

Our school-  
masters take  
great wages,  
but teach not.  
W. T.

Why the  
preachers are  
not believed,  
when they  
say truth.  
W. T.

The curates  
wot not what  
a bible mean-  
eth. W. T.

The priests  
understand  
no Latin.  
W. T.

Search the  
scriptures.  
W. T.  
John v.

Acts xvii.

sired he no faith to be given either to his doctrine, or to his miracles, without record of the scripture. When Paul preached, Acts xvii. the other searched the scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shall not I likewise see, whether it be the scripture that thou allegest? Yea, why shall I not see the scripture, and the circumstances, and what goeth before and after; that I may know whether thine interpretation be the right sense, or whether thou jugglest, and drawest the scripture violently unto thy carnal and fleshly purpose; or whether thou be about to teach me, or to deceive me?

[False prophets known by their deeds. Absentee clergy exposed.]

The properties of the Hebrew

tongue agree with the English. W. T.

King Adelstone. W. T.

Contrary preaching. W. T.

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto.

Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and an-

other that; one followeth Duns. another St Thomas, Contrary doctors. (V. T.) another Bonaventure. Alexander de Hales. Raymond, Lyre. Brygot. Dorbel. Holcot. Gorram. Trumbett, Hugo de Sancto Victore. De Monte Regio. De Nova Villa. De Media Villa<sup>1</sup>, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them? Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?

Nay, say they, the scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the meteyard by the cloth. Here be twenty cloths of divers lengths and of divers breadths: how shall I be sure of the length of the meteyard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the meteyard, and thereby measure and judge of the cloths. If I must first believe the doctor, then is the doctor first true, and the truth of the scripture dependeth of his truth; and so the truth of God springeth of the truth of man. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever

Antichrist  
turneth the  
roots of the  
tree upward.  
W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Duns Scotus (c. 1264-1308) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-74), both founders of mediaeval schools of thought. The former gave priority to love and the will, the latter to reason and knowledge. Bonaventura (1221-74) Franciscan theologian, became a cardinal. Hales (c. 1170-1245), Franciscan theologian, known as Doctor Irrefragabilis. Raymond of Pennafort (c. 1175-1275), Dominican canonist from Spain. Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270-1340), a Jew who became a Franciscan and wrote commentaries, advocating mostly literal interpretation of the Bible. Bridget of Sweden (1303-73) founded the Brigittine order of nuns. Dorbellus, a Franciscan friar. Robert Holcot (d. 1349), Dominican theologian in England. Nicholas de Gorham, claimed by Dominicans and Franciscans. Antonius Trombeta (1436-1518), Scotist theologian. Hugh of St Victor (c. 1096-1141), mystical theologian. John Muller (1436-1476), archbishop, mathematician and astronomer. Perhaps Arnoldus de Nova Villa, from Spain. Richard Middleton (d. c. 1300), lectured at Oxford.]

The scripture is the trial of all doctrine, and the right touchstone.  
W. T.

wrote upon the scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again. He wrote of many things which he understood not when he was newly converted, ere he had thoroughly seen the scriptures; and followed the opinions of Plato, and the common persuasions of man's wisdom that were then famous.

Philosophy.  
W. T.  
Aristotle.  
W. T.

They will say yet more shamefully, that no man can understand the scriptures without *philautia*, that is to say, philosophy<sup>1</sup>. A man must be first well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the scripture, say they. Aristotle's doctrine is, that the world was without beginning, and shall be without end; and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be; and that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any accounts of that we do. Without this doctrine, how could

Scripture.  
W. T.

we understand the scripture, that saith, God created the world of nought; and God worketh all things of his free will, and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life! Aristotle saith, Give a man a law, and he hath power of himself to do or fulfil the law, and becometh righteous with working righteously. But Paul, and

Aristotle.  
W. T.

Paul. W. T.

all the scripture saith, That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not: neither hath any man power to do the law, till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ. Is it not a madness then to say, that we could not understand the scripture without Aristotle? Aristotle's righteousness, and all his virtues, spring of man's free will. And a Turk, and every infidel and idolater, may be righteous and virtuous with that righteousness and those virtues. Moreover, Aristotle's felicity and blessedness standeth in avoiding of all tribulations; and in riches, health, honour, worship, friends, and authority; which felicity pleaseth our spirituality well. Now, without these, and a thousand such like points, couldst thou not understand scripture, which saith, That

Aristotle.  
W. T.

Scripture.  
W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> *Philautia*, self-love. He means that what they call philosophy, or the love of wisdom, would be more properly described if it were called self-love.]



righteousness cometh by Christ, and not of man's will; and how that virtues are the fruits and the gift of God's Spirit; and that Christ blesseth us in tribulations, persecution, and adversity! How, I say, couldst thou understand the scripture without philosophy, inasmuch as Paul, in the second to the Colossians, warned them to 'beware lest any man should spoil them' (that is to say, rob them of their faith in Christ) 'through philosophy and deceitful vanities, and through the traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ?'

Philosophy.  
Paul. W. T.  
Col. ii.

By this means, then, thou wilt that no man teach another; but that every man take the scripture, and learn by himself. Nay, verily, so say I not. Nevertheless, seeing that ye will not teach, if any man thirst for the truth, and read the scripture by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God for his truth's sake will and must teach him. Howbeit, my meaning is, that as a master teacheth his apprentice to know all the points of the meteyard; first, how many inches, how many feet, and the half-yard, the quarter, and the nail; and then teacheth him to mete other things thereby: even so will I that ye teach the people God's law, and what obedience God requireth of us to father and mother, master, lord, king, and all superiors, and with what friendly love he commandeth one to love another; and teach them to know that natural venom and birth-poison, which moveth the very hearts of us to rebel against the ordinances and will of God; and prove that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the law: and then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them with the law, teach them the testament and promises which God hath made unto us in Christ, and how much he loveth us in Christ; and teach them the principles and the ground of the faith, and what the sacraments signify: and then shall the Spirit work with thy preaching, and make them feel. So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of

When no  
man will  
teach, if we  
desire, God  
will teach.  
W. T.

The order  
of teaching.  
W. T.

speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome.

### Scholastic theology corrupts young people.

School divi-  
nity. W. T.

Yet in this  
they all  
agree, that  
no man is  
saved by  
Christ, but  
by holy  
works; and  
that Christ  
hath given  
up his God-  
head to the  
pope and all  
his power;  
and that the  
pope may  
give Christ's  
merits to  
whom he  
will, and  
take them  
from whom  
he will.  
W. T.

False simili-  
tudes. W. T.

Man's wis-  
dom heresy.  
W. T.

Coats. W. T.

Place. W. T.

When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt, then they begin their divinity; not at the scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor; which doctors are as sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another, among our sects of religion. Every religion, every university, and almost every man, hath a sundry divinity. Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him; and that holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintain his doctor withal, corrupteth the scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination, as a potter doth his clay. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another *limbo patrum*; and another the assumption of our lady: and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tail. And of what text the gray friar proveth that our lady was without original sin, of the same shall the black friar prove that she was conceived in original sin<sup>1</sup>. And all this do they with apparent reasons, with false similitudes and likenesses, and with arguments and persuasions of man's wisdom. Now there is no other division or heresy in the world save man's wisdom, and when man's foolish wisdom interpreteth the scripture. Man's wisdom scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects; while the wisdom of one is that a white coat is best to serve God in, and another saith a black, and another a gray, another a blue; and while one saith that God will hear your prayer in this place, another saith in that place; and while one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier;

[<sup>1</sup> The gray friars were Franciscans, the black Dominicans. The former regularly sided with the Scotists, because Duns Scotus had been of their order; the latter as regularly with the Thomists, because Thomas Aquinas had been of theirs.]

and this religion is holier than that; and this saint is greater with God than that; and an hundred thousand like things. Man's wisdom is plain idolatry: neither is there any other idolatry than to imagine of God after man's wisdom. God is not man's imagination; but that only which he saith of himself. God is nothing but his law and his promises; that is to say, that which he biddeth thee to do, and that which he biddeth thee believe and hope. God is but his word, as Christ saith, John viii. "I am that I say unto you;" that is to say, That which I preach am I; my words are spirit and life. God is that only which he testifieth of himself; and to imagine any other thing of God than that, is damnable idolatry. Therefore saith the hundred and eighteenth psalm, "Happy are they which search the testimonies of the Lord<sup>1</sup>;" that is to say, that which God testifieth and witnesseth unto us. But how shall I that do, when ye will not let me have his testimonies, or witnesses, in a tongue which I understand? Will ye resist God? Will ye forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?

Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox doth for the geese), is evident, and clearer than the sun; inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles: for Paul saith, "See that fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, be not once named among you, as it becometh saints; neither filthiness, neither foolish talking nor jesting, which are not comely: for this ye know, that no whoremonger, either unclean person, or covetous person, which is the worshipper of images, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." And after saith he, "Through such things

One religion is holier than another. W. T.  
Man's wisdom is idolatry. W. T.  
What God is. W. T.

Joh. viii.

Ps. cxix.

Then think the papists their wicked life will shew itself to their shame and confusion. Ant. ed.

The pope licensed the people to read and say what they would, save the truth. Ant. ed.

Read what thou wilt, yea, and say what thou wilt, save the truth. W. T.

Eph. v.

[<sup>1</sup> This quotation from psalm cxix. 2, is referred by Tyndale to psalm cxviii. according to the usage of christian writers till the whole scriptures had been again translated from the Hebrew.]

But the one  
forbiddeth  
not their  
jomy and  
belly-cheer,  
as the other  
doth. Anted.

cometh the wrath of God upon the children of unbelief." Now seeing they permit you freely to read those things which corrupt your minds and rob you of the kingdom of God and Christ, and bring the wrath of God upon you, how is this forbidding for love of your souls?

A thousand reasons more might be made, as thou mayest see in *Paraclesis Erasmi*, and in his preface to the *Paraphrase of Matthew*<sup>1</sup>, unto which they should be compelled to hold their peace, or to give shameful answers. But I hope that these are sufficient unto them that thirst the truth. God for his mercy and truth shall well open them more, yea, and other secrets of his godly wisdom, if they be diligent to cry unto him; which grace grant God. Amen.

[<sup>1</sup> In Erasmus' preface to the third edition of his version of Matthew, published three years before Tyndale wrote this, there is a remarkable passage to our reformer's purpose, which begins as follows: Si nemo non gaudet vocari Christianus, nemo debet ignorare principis sui dogmata. Nullus audet se profiteri Augustinensem qui regulam Augustini non legerit. . . . Et tu tibi Christianus videris, qui nusquam scire curaris Christi regulam?

This remark of Erasmus will be understood to have the more force, when it is added, that if any monk was ignorant of Latin, the monastic regulations insisted that he should have the rules of his order in the vulgar tongue. So observed Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, a contemporary whom Erasmus has highly lauded.]

## II

## THE PROLOGUE

FORASMUCH as our holy prelates and our ghostly religious<sup>1</sup>, which ought to defend God's word, speak evil of it, and do all the shame they can to it, and rail on it; and bear their captives in hand, that it causeth insurrection and teacheth the people to disobey their heads and governors, and moveth them to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havock of other men's goods: therefore have I made this little treatise that followeth, containing all obedience that is of God; in which, whosoever readeth it, shall easily perceive, not the contrary only, and that they lie, but also the very cause of such blasphemy, and what stirreth them so furiously to rage and to belie the truth.

Prelates not professors, but profaners of God's word. Ant. ed.

The obedience of monks and friars is not here. For they are not of God, but of their own feigning. W. T.

Howbeit it is no new thing unto the word of God to be railed upon, neither is this the first time that hypocrites have ascribed to God's word the vengeance whereof they themselves were ever cause. For the hypocrites with their false doctrine and idolatry have evermore led the wrath and vengeance of God upon the people, so sore that God could no longer forbear, nor defer his punishment. Yet God, which is always merciful, before he would take vengeance, hath ever sent his true prophets and true preachers, to warn the people that they might repent. But the people for the most part, and namely the heads and rulers, through comfort and persuading of the hypocrites, have ever waxed more hard-hearted than before, and have persecuted the word of God and his prophets. Then God, which is also righteous, hath always poured his plagues upon them without delay; which plagues the hypocrites ascribe unto God's word, saying, 'See what mischief is come upon us since this new learning came up, and this new sect, and this new doctrine.' This seest thou, Jeremiah xlv. where the people cried to go to their old idolatry again, saying, "Since we left it, we have been in all neces-

The hypocrites lay that to God's word which they themselves are cause of. W. T.

God warneth ere he strike. W. T.

When God punisheth the idolatry of the hypocrites, then say they, that new learning is the cause thereof. W. T. Jer. xlv

[<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere *religious* is used as a substantive, just as in French 'un religieux' is a friar or a monk.]

Christ was  
accused of  
insurrection.  
W. T.  
Luke xxiii.

sity and have been consumed with war and hunger." But the prophet answered them that their idolatry went unto the heart of God, so that he could no longer suffer the maliciousness of their own imaginations or inventions; and that the cause of all such mischiefs was, because they would not hear the voice of the Lord and walk in his law, ordinances, and testimonies. The scribes and the Pharisees laid also to Christ's charge, Luke xxiii. that he moved the people to sedition; and said to Pilate, "We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and saith that he is Christ a king." And again in the same chapter, "He moveth the people," said they, "teaching throughout Jewry, and began at Galilee even to this place." So likewise laid they to the apostles' charge, as thou mayest see in the Acts. St Cyprian also, and St Augustine, and many other more, made works in defence of the word of God against such blasphemies<sup>1</sup>. So that thou mayest see how that it is no new thing, but an old and accustomed thing with the hypocrites, to wite<sup>2</sup> God's word and the true preachers of all the mischief which their lying doctrine is the very cause of.

Why trouble  
followeth the  
preaching of  
the gospel.  
W. T.

Neverthelater in very deed, after the preaching of God's word, because it is not truly received, God sendeth great trouble into the world; partly to avenge himself of the tyrants and persecutors of his word, and partly to destroy those worldly people which make of God's word nothing but a cloak of their flesbly liberty. They are not all good that follow the gospel. Christ (Matt. xiii.) likeneth the kingdom of

Matt. xiii.

[<sup>1</sup> Such is the chief topic of Cyprian's Address to Demetrianus. 'Dixisti,' says he, 'per nos fieri, et quod nobis debeant imputari, omnia ista quibus nunc mundus quatitur et urgetur, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur. . . Non enim, sicut tua falsa querimonia, et imperitia veritatis ignara, jactat et clamat, ista accidunt quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur; sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus.'

Such also was the declared object of Augustine in composing his treatise *De civitate Dei*; as he himself toll us in his second book of his *Retractationes*, ch. xliii. 'Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione impetu magnæ cladis eversa est: cujus eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores in Christianam religionem referre conantes, solito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blasphemare cæperunt. Unde ego, exardescens zelo domus Dei, adversus eorum blasphemias, vel errores, libros *De civitate Dei* scribere institui.' Tom. i. col. 56.]

[<sup>2</sup> From Saxon *Vitan*, to blame.]

heaven unto a net cast into the sea, that catcheth fishes both good and bad. The kingdom of heaven is the preaching of the gospel, unto which come both good and bad. But the good are few. Christ calleth them therefore a "little flock," Luke xii. For they are ever few that come to the gospel of a true intent, seeking therein nothing but the glory and praise of God, and offering themselves freely and willingly to take adversity with Christ for the gospel's sake, and for bearing record unto the truth, that all men may hear it. The greatest number come, and ever came, and followed even Christ himself, for a worldly purpose: as thou mayest well see (John vi.), how that almost five thousand followed Christ, and would also have made him a king, because he had well fed them: whom he rebuked, saying, "Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye ate of the bread and were filled"; and drove them away from him with hard preaching.

Luke xii.  
Christ's flock  
a little flock.  
W. T.

As our pre-  
lates do not  
take their  
vocation to  
seek God's  
glory and  
honour, but  
to live easily,  
and promote  
themselves to  
dignity.  
Ant. ed.

Joh. vi.

Even so now, as ever, the most part seek liberty. They be glad when they hear the unsatiable covetousness of the spirituality rebuked; when they hear their falsehood and wiles uttered; when tyranny and oppression is preached against; when they hear how kings and all officers should rule christianly and brotherly, and seek no other thing save the wealth of their subjects; and when they hear that they have no such authority of God so to pill and poll as they do, and to raise up taxes and gatherings to maintain their phantasies, and to make war they wot not for what cause. And therefore, because the heads will not so rule, will they also no longer obey; but resist and rise against their evil heads; and one wicked destroyeth another. Yet is God's word not the cause of this, neither yet the preachers. For though that Christ himself taught all obedience, how that it is not lawful to resist wrong, but for the officer that is appointed thereunto; and how a man must love his very enemy, and pray for them that persecute him, and bless them that curse him; and how that all vengeance must be remitted to God; and that a man must forgive if he will be forgiven of God; yet the people for the most part received it not: they were ever ready to rise, and to fight. For ever when the scribes and Pharisees went about to take Christ, they were afraid of the people. "Not on the holy day," said they, Matt. xxvi. "lest any rumour arise among the people": and, Matt. xxi. "They

Liberty.

God destroy-  
eth one  
wicked with  
another.  
W. T.

God's word  
is not the  
cause of evil.  
W. T.

Matt. xxvi.

Matt. xxi.

would have taken him but they feared the people": and Luke xx. Christ asked the Pharisees a question unto which they durst not answer, lest the people should have stoned them.

Christ's disciples were long weak and worldly minded. W. T. Matt. xxvi. Last of all : forasmuch as the very disciples and apostles of Christ, after so long hearing of Christ's doctrine, were yet ready to fight for Christ, clean against Christ's teaching, (as Peter, Matt. xxvi. drew his sword, but was rebuked ; and, Luke ix.

Luke ix. James and John would have had fire to come from heaven to consume the Samaritans, and to avenge the injury of Christ, but were likewise rebuked ;) if Christ's disciples were so long carnal,

The pope's doctrine causeth, yea, commandeth murder. Ant. ed. what wonder is it if we be not all perfect the first day? Yea, inasmuch as we be taught, even of very babes, to kill a Turk, to slay a Jew, to burn an heretic, to fight for the liberties and right of the church, as they call it ; yea, and inasmuch as we are brought in belief, if we shed the blood of our even<sup>1</sup> christian, or if the son shed the blood of his father that begat him, for the defence, not of the pope's godhead only, but also for whatsoever cause it be, yea, though it be for no cause, but that his holiness commandeth it only, that we deserve as much as Christ deserved for us, when he died on the cross ; or, if we be slain in the quarrel, that our souls go, nay, fly to heaven, and be there ere our blood be cold : inasmuch, I say, as we have sucked in such bloody imaginations into the bottom of our hearts, even with our mother's milk, and have been so long hardened therein ; what wonder were it, if, while we be yet young in Christ, we thought that it were lawful to fight for the true word of God? Yea, and though a man were thoroughly persuaded that it were not lawful to resist his king, though he would wrongfully take away life and goods ; yet might he think that it were lawful to resist the hypocrites, and to rise, not against his king but with his king, to deliver his king out of bondage and captivity, wherein the hypocrites hold him with wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be suffered to come at him, to tell him the truth.

The pope's doctrine is bloody. W. T. This seest thou, that it is the bloody doctrine of the pope which causeth disobedience, rebellion and insurrection: for he teacheth to fight and to defend his traditions, and whatsoever he dreameth, with fire, water, and sword ; and to disobey father, mother, master, lord, king, and emperor ; yea, and to invade whatsoever land or nation, that will not receive and

[<sup>1</sup> Even, i. e. equal.]



admit his godhead: where the peaceable doctrine of Christ teacheth to obey, and to suffer for the word of God, and to remit the vengeance and the defence of the word to God, which is mighty and able to defend it: which also as soon as the word is once openly preached, and testified, or witnessed unto the world, and when he hath given them a season to repent, is ready at once to take vengeance of his enemies, and shooteth arrows with heads dipt in deadly poison at them; and poureth his plagues from heaven down upon them; and sendeth the murrain and pestilence among them; and sinketh the cities of them; and maketh the earth swallow them; and compasseth them in their wiles; and taketh them in their own traps and snares, and casteth them into the pits which they digged for other men; and sendeth them a dazing<sup>2</sup> in the head; and utterly destroyeth them with their own subtle counsel.

Christ's  
doctrine is  
peaceable.  
W. T.

God avengeth  
his doctrine  
himself.  
W. T.

Prepare thy mind therefore unto this little treatise; and read it discreetly; and judge it indifferently. And when I allege any scripture, look thou on the text whether I interpret it right: which thou shalt easily perceive by the circumstance and process of them, if thou make Christ the foundation and the ground, and build all on him, and referrest all to him; and findest also that the exposition agreeth unto the common articles of the faith and open scriptures. And God the Father of mercy, which for his truth's sake raised our Saviour Christ up again to justify us, give thee his Spirit, to judge what is righteous in his eyes; and give thee strength to abide by it, and to maintain it with all patience and long-suffering, unto the example and edifying of his congregation, and glory of his name. Amen.

How a man  
ought to  
behave  
himself in  
reading of  
doctors, and  
also in the  
scripture.  
W. T.

[<sup>2</sup> Confusion; stupefaction.]



## III

THE INTERPRETATION  
OF SCRIPTURE

## The Four Senses of the Scripture.

THEY divide the scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The literal sense is become nothing at all: for the pope hath taken it clean away, and hath made it his possession<sup>1</sup>. He hath partly locked it up with the false and counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies, and feigned lies; and partly driveth men from it with violence of sword: for no man dare abide by the literal sense of the text, but under a protestation, 'If it shall please the pope.' The tropological sense pertaineth to good manners (say they), and teacheth what we ought to do. The allegory is appropriate to faith; and the anagogical to hope, and things above. Tropological and anagogical are terms of their own feigning, and altogether unnecessary. For they are but allegories, both two of them; and this word allegory comprehendeth them both, and is enough. For tro-

[<sup>1</sup> In one of the glosses on the papal law the margin says, *Scriptura divina quadrupliciter exponi potest. Joh. xvi. (25);* and the gloss proceeds to say, *Est enim quidam intellectus historicus; allegoricus; moralis sive tropologicus; anagogicus. Sic hæc vox Hierusalem historice signat civitatem illam terrestrem; allegorice, ecclesiam; moraliter, animam fidelem; anagogice, celestem Hierusalem. Moraliter intellectus attendit quæ juxta nos sunt; allegoricus, quæ intra nos; anagogicus, quæ supra nos.*—Gloss on the word 'anagogen,' *Dist. LXXVI. cap. 7, (or Jejunium) in the Decret. Gratian.* It will be seen that, as Tyndale had observed, the gloss entirely passes over the literal, or, as it speaks, historical sense, when describing how this fourfold method of expounding the scriptures should be made profitable to us.]

Allegory,  
what it sig-  
nifieth.  
W. T.

pological<sup>1</sup> is but an allegory of manners; and anagogical, an allegory of hope. And allegory is as much to say as strange speaking, or borrowed speech: as when we say of a wanton child, 'This sheep hath magots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve;' which speech I borrow of the shepherds.

The scripture  
hath but one  
sense. W. T.

Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently: as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. We say, 'Let the sea swell and rise as high as he will, yet hath God appointed how far he shall go:' meaning that the tyrants shall not do what they would, but that only which God hath appointed them to do. 'Look ere thou leap:' whose literal sense is, 'Do nothing suddenly, or without advisement.' 'Cut not the hough that thou standest upon:' whose literal sense is, 'Oppress not the commons;' and is borrowed of hewers.

Borrowed  
speech. W. T.




When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech, and say, 'The bishop hath blessed it;' because that nothing speedeth well that they meddle withal. If the porridge be burned too, or the meat over roasted, we say, 'The bishop hath put his foot in the pot,' or, 'The bishop hath played the cook;' because the bishops burn whom they lust, and whosoever displeaseth them. 'He is a pontifical fellow;' that is, proud and stately. 'He is popish;' that is, superstitious and faithless. 'It is a pastime for a prelate.' 'It is a pleasure for a pope.' 'He would be free, and yet will not have his head shaven.' 'He would that no man should smite him, and yet hath not the pope's mark.' And of him that is betrayed, and wotteth not how, we say, 'He hath been at

[<sup>1</sup> For tropological the folio edition has here chopological; and Coplande's edition has chopological for tropological, a few lines above, as though Tyndale had meant to jest at the pedantic terms used by the schoolmen.]

shrift.' 'She is master parson's sister's daughter;' 'He is the bishop's sister's son;' 'He hath a cardinal to his uncle;' 'She is a spiritual whore;' 'It is the gentlewoman of the parsonage;' 'He gave me a *Kyrie eleyson*².' And of her that answereth her husband six words for one, we say, 'She is a sister of the Charterhouse:' as who should say, 'She thinketh that she is not bound to keep silence; their silence shall be a satisfaction for her.' And of him that will not be saved by Christ's merits, but by the works of his own imagination, we say, 'It is a holy-work-man.' Thus borrow we, and feign new speech in every tongue. All fables, prophecies, and riddles, are allegories; as Æsop's fables, and Merlin's prophecies; and the interpretation of them are the literal sense.

So in like manner the scripture borroweth words and sentences of all manner things, and maketh proverbs and similitudes, or allegories. As Christ saith, Luke iv. "Physician, Luke iv. heal thyself:" whose interpretation is, 'Do that at home, which thou dost in strange places;' and that is the literal sense. So when I say, 'Christ is a lamb;' I mean not a lamb that beareth wool, but a meek and a patient lamb, which is beaten for other men's faults. 'Christ is a vine;' not that beareth grapes; but out of whose root the branches that believe suck the Spirit of life, and mercy, and grace, and power to be the sons of God, and to do his will. The similitudes of the gospel are allegories, borrowed of worldly matters, to express spiritual things. The apocalypse, or revelations of John, are allegories whose literal sense is hard to find in many places. The right use of allegoria. W. T.

Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the scripture by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we, and as the scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the scripture, and apply them to our purposes; which allegories are no sense of the scripture, but free things besides the scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. Which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures; but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ, and unto the faith. Take an ensample: thou hast the story of Peter, how  Allegories are no sense of scripture. W. T.

[² 'Lord, have mercy.' The proverb seems to mean he gave nothing but good words. James ii. 16.]

he smote off Malchus's ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou in the plain text great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over because of tediousness. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this ensample, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes. And of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel; saying, 'As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law: the law dammeth, the law killeth, and manglith the conscience: there is no ear so righteous that can abide the hearing of the law: there is no deed so good but that the law dammeth it'. But Christ, that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt. The gospel is life, mercy, and forgiveness freely, and altogether an healing plaister. And as Peter doth but hurt and make a wound, where was none before, even so doth the law: for when we think that we are holy and righteous, and full of good deeds; if the law be preached aright, our righteousness and good deeds vanish away, as smoke in the wind, and we are left damnable sinners only. And as thou seest how that Christ healeth not, till Peter had wounded; and as an healing plaister helpeth not, till the corrosive hath troubled the wound; even so the gospel helpeth not, but when the law hath wounded the conscience, and brought the sinner into the knowledge of his sin.' This allegory proveth nothing, neither can do. For it is not the scripture, but an ensample or a similitude borrowed of the scripture, to declare a text or a conclusion of the scripture more expressly, and to root it and grave it in the heart. For a similitude, or an ensample, doth print a thing much deeper in the wits of a man than doth a plain speaking, and leaveth behind him as it were a sting to prick him forward, and to awake him withal. Moreover, if I could not prove with an open text that which the allegory doth express, then were the allegory a thing to be jested at, and of no greater value than a tale of Robin Hood. This allegory, as touching his first part, is proved by Paul in the ivth chapter of his epistle to the Ro-

Allegories  
prove nothing. W. T.

If thou cannot prove the allegory with an open text, then is it false doctrine. W. T.

Rom. iv. vii.

[<sup>1</sup> This sentence forms Art. XIX. of the heresies and errors charged against Tyndale. Foxe in reply quotes more of the context, and then asks, 'What heresy is this?']

mans, where he saith, "The law causeth wrath;" and in the viith chapter to the Romans, "When the law or commandment came, sin revived, and I became dead:" and in the iind 2 Cor. iii. epistle to the Corinthians, in the third chapter, the law is called "the minister of death and damnation," &c. And as concerning the second part, Paul saith to the Romans in the Rom. v. vth chapter, "In that we are justified by faith we are at peace with God." And in the iind epistle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. iii. in the third [chapter], the gospel is called "the ministration of justifying and of the Spirit." And, Gal. iii. "The Spirit Gal. iii. cometh by preaching of the faith," &c. Thus doth the literal The literal sense proveth the allegory. W. T. sense prove the allegory, and bear it, as the foundation beareth the house. And because that allegories prove nothing, therefore are they to be used soberly and seldom, and only where the text offereth thee an allegory.

And of this manner (as I above have done) doth Paul They that justify themselves by their works are the bond-children of the law. Ant. ed. borrow a similitude, a figure or allegory, of Genesis, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel; and by Agar and her son declareth the property of the law, and of her bond-children which will be justified by deeds; and by Sarah and her son declareth the property of the gospel, and of her free children which are justified by faith; and how the children of the law, which believe in their works, persecute the children of the gospel, which believe in the mercy and truth of God and in the testament of his Son Jesus our Lord.

And likewise do we borrow likenesses or allegories of the scripture, as of Pharaoh and Herod, and of the scribes and Pharisees, to express our miserable captivity and persecution under antichrist the pope. The greatest cause of which captivity and the decay of the faith, and this blindness wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen and the doctors of his time drew all the scripture unto allegories: whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing that the scripture served but to feign allegories upon; insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, as children make descant upon plain song. Then came our The faith was lost through allegories. W. T. sophisters with their anagogical and chopological sense, and with an antitheme of half an inch, out of which some of them Chopological sophisters. W. T. draw a thread of nine days long. Yea, thou shalt find enough that will preach Christ, and prove whatsoever point

Poetry is as  
good divinity  
as the scrip-  
ture to our  
schoolmen.  
W. T.

2 Cor. iii.

The literal  
sense killeth,  
say sophis-  
ters. W. T.

'The letter  
killeth,' is  
expounded.  
W. T.

To love the  
law is right-  
eousness.  
W. T.

Exod. xx.

2 Cor. iii.

of the faith that thou wilt, as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet, as out of St John's gospel or Paul's epistles. Yea, they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful, and noisome, and killeth the soul. Which damnable doctrine they prove by a text of Paul, 2 Cor. iii. where he saith, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Lo, say they, the literal sense killeth, and the spiritual sense giveth life. We must therefore, say they, seek out some chopological sense.

Here learn what sophistry is, and how blind they are, that thou mayest abhor them and spue them out of thy stomach for ever. Paul by the letter meaneth Moses's law; which the process of the text following declareth more bright than the sun. But it is not their guise to look on the order of any text; but as they find it in their doctors, so allege they it, and so understand it. Paul maketh a comparison between the law and the gospel; and calleth the law the letter, because it was but letters graven in two tables of cold stone: for the law doth but kill, and damn the consciences, as long as there is no lust in the heart to do that which the law commandeth. Contrariwise, he calleth the gospel the administration of the Spirit and of righteousness or justifying. For when Christ is preached, and the promises which God hath made in Christ are believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and looseth the heart, and giveth lust to do the law, and maketh the law a lively thing in the heart. Now as soon as the heart lusteth to do the law, then are we righteous before God, and our sins forgiven. Nevertheless the law of the letter graven in stone, and not in their hearts, was so glorious, and Moses's face shone so bright, that the children of Israel could not behold his face for brightness. It was also given in thunder and lightning and terrible signs; so that they for fear came to Moses, and desired him that he would speak to them, and let God speak no more; "Lest we die (said they) if we hear him any more:" as thou mayest see Exod. xx. Whereupon Paul maketh his comparison, saying: "If the ministration of death through the letters figured in stones was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; why shall not the administration of the Spirit be glorious?"



And again : " If the administration of damnation be glorious, much more shall the administration of righteousness exceed in glory : " that is, if the law that killeth sinners, and helpeth them not, be glorious ; then the gospel, which pardoneth sinners, and giveth them power to be the sons of God and to overcome sin, is much more glorious.

And the text that goeth before is as clear. For the holy apostle Paul saith : " Ye Corinthians are our epistle, which is understand and read of all men, in that ye are known how that ye are the epistle of Christ ministered by us, and written, not with ink," (as Moses's law,) " but with the Spirit of the living God ; not in tables of stone," (as the ten commandments,) " but in the fleshy tables of the heart : " as who should say, ' We write not a dead law with ink and in parchment, nor grave that which damned you in tables of stone ; but preach you that which bringeth the Spirit of life unto your breasts, which Spirit writeth and graveth the law of love in your hearts, and giveth you lust to do the will of God.' And furthermore, saith he, " Our ableness cometh of God, which hath made us able to minister the new Testament, not of the letter," (that is to say, not of the law,) " but of the Spirit : for the letter " (that is to say, the law) " killeth ; but the Spirit giveth life ; " that is to say, the Spirit of God, which entereth your hearts when ye believe the glad tidings that are preached you in Christ, quickeneth your hearts, and giveth you life and lust, and maketh you to do of love and of your own accord, without compulsion, that which the law compelled you to do, and damned you because ye could not do with love and lust, and naturally. Thus seest thou that the letter signifieth not the literal sense, and the spirit the spiritual sense. And, Rom. ii. Paul useth this term *Litera* Rom. ii. vii. for the law ; and Rom. vii. where he setteth it so plain, that if the great wrath of God had not blinded them, they could never have stumbled at it.

God is a Spirit, and all his words are spiritual. His literal sense is spiritual, and all his words are spiritual. The literal sense is spiritual. W. T. When thou readest (Matt. i.), " She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus ; for he shall save his people from their sins : " this literal sense is spiritual, and everlasting life unto as many as believe it. And the literal sense of these words, (Matt. v.) " Blessed are the merciful, for they Matt. v.

Matt. vi.

shall have mercy," are spiritual and life; whereby they that are merciful may of right, by the truth and promise of God, challenge mercy. And like is it of these words, Matt. vi. "If you forgive other men their sins, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours." And so is it of all the promises of God. Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof.

What is to  
be sought in  
the scripture  
and in the  
literal sense.  
W. T.

All the scripture is either the promises and testament of God in Christ, and stories pertaining thereunto, to strengthen thy faith; either the law, and stories pertaining thereto, to fear thee from evil doing. There is no story nor gest, seem it never so simple or so vile unto the world, but that thou shalt find therein spirit and life and edifying in the literal sense: for it is God's scripture, written for thy learning and comfort. There is no clout or rag there, that hath not precious relics wrapt therein of faith, hope, patience and long suffering, and of the truth of God, and also of his righteousness.

The story of  
Reuben.  
W. T.

Set before thee the story of Reuben, which defiled his father's bed. Mark what a cross God suffered to fall on the neck of his elect Jacob. Consider first the shame among the heathen, when as yet there was no more of the whole world within the testament of God, but he and his household. I report me to our prelates, which swear by their honour, whether it were a cross or no. Seest thou not how our wicked builders rage, because they see their buildings burn, now they are tried by the fire of God's word; and how they stir up the whole world, to quench the word of God, for fear of losing their honour? Then what business<sup>1</sup> had he to pacify his children! Look what ado he had at the defiling of his daughter Dinah. And be thou sure that the brethren there were no more furious for the defiling of their sister, than the sons here for defiling of their mother. Mark what followed Reuben, to fear other, that they shame not their fathers and mothers. He was cursed, and lost the kingdom, and also the priesthood, and his tribe or generation was ever few in number, as it appeareth in the stories of the bible.

Swear they by  
their honour?  
Then are they  
not ready to  
suffer shame  
for Christ's  
sake. W. T.

The adultery  
of David.  
W. T.

The adultery of David with Bathsheba is an ensample, not to move us to evil; but, if (while we follow the way of

[<sup>1</sup> That is, toil, trouble.]

righteousness) any chance drive us aside, that we despair not. For if we saw not such infirmities in God's elect, we, which are so weak and fall so oft, should utterly despair, and think that God had clean forsaken us. It is therefore a sure and an undoubted conclusion, whether we be holy or unholy, we are all sinners. But the difference is, that God's sinners consent not to their sin. They consent unto the law that is both holy and righteous, and mourn to have their sin taken away. But the devil's sinners consent unto their sin, and would have the law and hell taken away, and are enemies unto the righteousness of God.

The difference between God's sinners and the devil's. W.T.

Likewise in the homely gest<sup>2</sup> of Noe, when he was drunk, and lay in his tent with his privy members open, hast thou great edifying in the literal sense. Thou seest what became of the cursed children of wicked Ham, which saw his father's privy members, and jested thereof unto his brethren. Thou seest also what blessing fell on Shem and Japhet, which went backward and covered their father's members, and saw them not. And thirdly, thou seest what infirmity accompanieth God's elect, be they never so holy, which yet is not imputed unto them: for the faith and trust they have in God swalloweth up all their sins.

Noah. W.T.

Notwithstanding, this text offers us an apt and an handsome allegory or similitude to describe our wicked Ham, antichrist the pope, which many hundred years hath done all the shame that heart can think unto the word of promise, or the word of faith, as Paul calleth it, Rom. x.; and the gospel and testament of Christ, wherewith we are begotten; as thou seest, 1 Pet. i. and James i. And as the cursed children of Ham grew into giants, so mighty and great that the children of Israel seemed but grasshoppers in respect of them; so the cursed sons of our Ham, the pope, his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and friars, are become mighty giants above all power and authority; so that the children of faith, in respect of them, are much less than grasshoppers. They heap mountain upon mountain, and will to heaven by their own strength, by a way of their own making, and not by the way Christ. Neverthelater, those giants, for the wickedness and abominations which they had wrought, did God utterly destroy, part of them by the children of Lot, and

The pope is likened to Ham. W. T.

Rom. x.

1 Pet. i.  
James i.

They will to heaven by a way of their own making. W. T.

part by the children of Esau, and seven nations of them by the children of Israel. So no doubt shall he destroy these for like abominations, and that shortly. For their kingdom is but the kingdom of lies and falsehood; which must needs perish at the coming of the truth of God's word, as the night vanisheth away at the presence of day. The children of Israel slew not those giants, but the power of God; God's truth and promises, as thou mayest see in Deuteronomy. So it is not we that shall destroy those giants, as thou mayest see by Paul, (2 Thess. ii.) speaking of our Iam, antichrist: "Whom the Lord shall destroy" (saith he) "with the spirit of his mouth," that is, by the words of truth, "and by the brightness of his coming," that is, by the preaching of his gospel.

2 Thess. ii.

The use of  
similitudes.  
W. T.

And as I have said of allegories, even so it is of worldly similitudes, which we make either when we preach, either when we expound the scripture. The similitudes prove nothing, but are made to express more plainly that which is contained in the scripture, and to lead thee into the spiritual understanding of the text: as the similitude of matrimony is taken to express the marriage that is between Christ and our souls, and what exceeding mercy we have there, whereof all the scriptures make mention; and the similitude of the members, how every one of them careth for other, is taken to make thee feel what it is to love thy neighbour as thyself.


A similitude  
without  
scripture is  
a sure token  
of a false  
prophet.  
W. T.

1 Cor. ii.  
Paul preach-  
ed not world-  
ly wisdom.  
W. T.

That preacher therefore, that bringeth a naked similitude to prove that which is contained in no text of scripture, nor followeth of a text, count a deceiver, a leader out of the way, and a false prophet, and beware of his philosophy and persuasions of man's wisdom, as Paul saith: "My words and my preaching were not with enticing words and persuasions of man's wisdom, but in shewing of the Spirit and power:" (that is, he preached not dreams, confirming them with similitudes; but God's word, confirming it with miracles and with working of the Spirit, the which made them feel every thing in their hearts:) "that your faith," said he, "should not stand in the wisdom of man; but in the power of God." For the reasons and similitudes of man's wisdom make no faith, but wavering and uncertain opinions only: one draweth me this way with his argument, another that way, and of

Similitudes  
and reasons,  
of man's  
wisdom,  
make no

what principle thou provest black, another proveth white: faith, but wavering opinions only. W. T.  
 and so am I ever uncertain; as, if thou tell me of a thing done in a far land, and another tell me the contrary, I wot not what to believe. But faith is wrought by the power of God; that is, when God's word is preached, the Spirit entereth thine heart, and maketh thy soul feel it, and maketh thee so sure of it, that neither adversity, nor persecution, nor death, neither hell, nor the powers of hell, neither yet all the pains of hell could once prevail against thee, or move thee from the sure rock of God's word, that thou shouldst not believe that which God hath sworn. God's word maketh sure faith; for God cannot lie. W. T.

And Peter saith, "We followed not deceivable fables, when we opened unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; but with our eyes we saw his majesty." And again, "We have" (saith he) "a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto if ye take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, ye do well." The word of prophecy was the old Testament, which beareth record unto Christ in every place; without which record the apostles made neither similitudes nor arguments of worldly wit. Hereof seest thou,  that all the allegories, similitudes, persuasions and arguments, which they bring without scripture, to prove praying to saints, purgatory, ear-confession; and that God will hear thy prayer more in one place than in another; and that it is more meritorious to eat fish than flesh; and that to disguise thyself, and put on this or that manner coat, is more acceptable than to go as God hath made thee; and that widowhood is better than matrimony, and virginity than widowhood; and to prove the assumption of our lady, and that she was born without original sin, yea, and with a kiss (say some), are but false doctrine. Peter preached not fables and false similitudes, but the plain scripture. W. T. 2 Pet. i.

Take an ensample, how they prove that widowhood and virginity exceed matrimony. They bring this worldly similitude: he that taketh most pain for a man deserveth most, and to him a man is most bound; so likewise must it be with God, and so forth. Now the widow and virgin take more pain in resisting their lusts than the married wife; therefore is their state holier. First, I say, that in their own sophistry a similitude is the worst and feeblest argument that can be, and proveth least, and soonest deceiveth. Though that one son do more service for his father than another, yet is the School doctrine. W. T. Similitudes are no good arguments among the sophists own selves. W. T.

Luke xv.

1 Cor. vii.

We must  
cure our  
infirmities  
with the  
remedies  
that God hath  
ordained, and  
not tempt  
God. W. T.

What tempt-  
ing of God is.  
W. T.

father free, and may with right reward them all alike. For though I had a thousand brethren, and did more than they all, yet do I not my duty. The fathers and mothers also care most for the least and weakest, and them that can do least: yea, for the worst care they most, and would spend, not their goods only, but also their blood, to bring them to the right way. And even so is it of the kingdom of Christ, as thou mayest well see in the similitude of the riotous son. Moreover Paul saith, (1 Cor. vii.) "It is better to marry than to burn." For the person that burneth cannot quietly serve God, inasmuch as his mind is drawn away, and the thoughts of his heart occupied with wonderful and monstrous imaginations. He can neither see, nor hear, nor read, but that his wits are rapt, and he clean from himself. And again, saith he, "circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments" is all together. Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself and therein abide; whether thou be widow, wife, or maid; and then hast thou all with God. If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry: for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slake thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry<sup>1</sup>: and to desire a miracle, where there is natural remedy, is tempting of God. And of pains-taking, this-wise understand. He that taketh pains to keep the commandments of God, is sure thereby that he loveth God, and that he hath God's Spirit in him. And the more pain a man taketh (I mean patiently and without grudging), the more he loveth God, and the perfecter he is, and nearer unto that health which the souls of all christian men long for, and the more purged from the infirmity and sin that remaineth in the flesh. But to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved

[<sup>1</sup> This clause is quoted to form Art. XX. against Tyndale. To this charge Foxe only replies by giving his readers the three preceding sentences along with it: and then asking, 'What heresy is this?']

for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God<sup>2</sup>. For Christ only hath purchased the reward; and our pain-taking to keep the commandments doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.

I was once at the creating of doctors of divinity, where the opponent brought the same reason to prove that the widow had more merit than the virgin; because she had greater pain, forasmuch as she had once proved the pleasures of matrimony. *Ego nego, domine doctor*, said the respondent: 'for though the virgin have not proved, yet she imagineth that the pleasure is greater than it is indeed, and therefore is more moved, and hath greater temptation and greater pain.' Are not these disputers they that Paul speaketh of in the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy? that "they are not content with the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and doctrine of godliness; and therefore know nothing, but waste their brains about questions and strife of words, whereof spring envy, strife and railing of men with corrupt minds, destitute of the truth."

As pertaining to our lady's body, where it is, or where the body of Elias, of John the evangelist, and of many other be, pertaineth not to us to know. One thing are we sure of, that they are where God hath laid them. If they be in heaven, we have never the more in Christ: if they be not there, we have never the less. Our duty is to prepare ourselves unto the commandments, and to be thankful for that which is opened unto us; and not to search the unsearchable secrets of God. Of God's secrets can we know no more than he openeth unto us. If God shut, who shall open? How then can natural reason come by the knowledge of that which God hath hid unto himself?

Yet let us see one of their reasons wherewith they prove it. The chief reason is this: Every man doth more for his mother, say they, than for other; in like manner must Christ

[<sup>2</sup> Art. XXI. is, 'He saith, Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God.' Foxe replies, 'Consider the place.']

Matt. xii.

2 Cor. v.

John ii.

Luke ii.


do for his mother ; therefore hath she this pre-eminence, that her body is in heaven<sup>1</sup>. And yet Christ, in the xiith chap. of Matthew knoweth her not for his mother, but as far forth as she kept his Father's commandments. And Paul, in the iind epistle to the Corinthians, chap. v. knoweth not Christ himself fleshly, or after a worldly purpose. Last of all, God is free, and no further bound than he bindeth himself: if he have made her any promise, he is bound ; if not, then is he not. Finally, if thou set this above rehearsed chapter of Matthew before thee, where Christ would not know his mother, and the iind of John where he rebuked her, and the iind of Luke where she lost him, and how negligent she was to leave him behind her at Jerusalem unawares, and to go a day's journey ere she sought for him ; thou mightest resolve many of their reasons which they make of this matter, and that she was without original sin. Read also Erasmus's Annotations in the said places<sup>2</sup>. And as for me, I commit all such matters unto those idle bellies, which have nought else to do than to move such questions ; and give them free liberty to hold what they list, as long as it hurteth not the faith ; whether it be so or no : exhorting yet, with Paul, all that will please God, and obtain that salvation that is in Christ, that

[<sup>1</sup> See P.S. I. p. 159.]

[<sup>2</sup> Erasmus' note on Luke ii. 50, 'And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them,' contains the following observations: *Quid facient huic loco quidam, qui sedulo magis quam circumspecte beatæ virginis fere tantum tribuunt felicitatis jam inde ab initio quantum nunc possidet? Certe non obscure locutus est Christus; et tamen subjicit Evangelista, ab illis non fuisse intellectum, quod dixerat Jesus. Tum inter docendum a matre et fratribus interpellatus parum blande respondet, Quæ est mater mea? Similiter et in nuptiis, compellatus do vino deficiente. Hoc quod arguit interpellantis est; quod non intellectus obtemperat, obsequii est, quæ res et illi conveniebat ætati et parentum infirmitati obsecundabat.—And on the words, 'He was subject unto them,' Erasmus says: *Durum est quod asseverant quidam, Christum etiam in evangelico negotio debuisse matri obedientiam, cum qui rempublicam administrat non teneatur auctoritate patris. Sed multo durius est quod iidem docent, beatam virginem etiam nunc ut homini posse imperare Christo, et hoc esse quod canit ecclesia, Monstra te esse matrem, Sumat per te preces, etc. id est, Præcipe filio tuo ut nos exaudiat. Hoc si verum est, mater imploranda est potius quam filius, nec omnis potestas tradita est Christo, etiam juxta naturam humanam, si teneatur matris imperio.]**



they give no heed unto unnecessary and brawling disputations, and that they labour for the knowledge of those things without which they cannot be saved. And remember that the sun was given us to guide us in our way and works bodily. Now if thou leave the natural use of the sun, and will look directly on him to see how bright he is, and such-like curiosity, then will the sun blind thee. So was the scripture given us to guide us in our way and works ghostly. The way is Christ; and the promises in him are our salvation; if we long for them. Now if we shall leave that right use and turn ourselves unto vain questions, and to search the unsearchable secrets of God; then no doubt shall the scripture blind us, as it hath done our schoolmen and our subtle disputers.

And as they are false propbets, which prove with allegories, similitudes, and worldly reasons, that which is nowhere made mention of in the scripture; even so count them  for false prophets which expound the scriptures, drawing them unto a worldly purpose, clean contrary unto the ensample, living, and practising of Christ and of his apostles, and of all the holy prophets. For, saith Peter, (2 Pet. i.) "No prophecy in the scripture hath any private interpretation. For the scripture came not by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." No place of the scripture may have a private exposition; that is, it may not be expounded after the will of man, or after the will of the flesh, or drawn unto a worldly purpose contrary unto the open texts, and the general articles of the faith, and the whole course of the scripture, and contrary to the living and practising of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets. For as they came not by the will of man, so may they not be drawn or expounded after the will of man: but as they came by the Holy Ghost, so must they be expounded and understood by the Holy Ghost. The scripture is that wherewith God draweth us unto him, and not wherewith we should be led from him. The scriptures spring out of God, and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the scripture as by a line, until thou come at Christ, which is the way's end and resting-place. If any man, therefore, use the scripture

2 Pet. i.  
In expounding of the scripture, we must have a respect unto the living and practising of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.  
W. T.

The scripture was given to lead us unto Christ. W. T.

to draw thee from Christ, and to nose<sup>1</sup> thee in any thing save in Christ, the same is a false prophet. And that thou mayest perceive what Peter meaneth, it followeth in the text, 2 Pet. ii. “There were false prophets among the people” (whose prophecies were belly-wisdom), “as there shall be false teachers among you, which shall privily bring in damnable sects,” (as thou seest how we are divided into monstrous sects or orders of religion,) “even denying the Lord that hath bought them.” Sects, or orders. W. T. For every one of them taketh on him to sell thee for money that which God in Christ promiseth thee freely. “And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of:” as thou seest how the way of truth is become heresy, seditious, or cause of insurrection, and breaking of the king’s peace, and treason unto his highness. “And through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you.” Covetousness is the conclusion: for covetousness and ambition, that is to say, lucre and desire of honour, is the final end of all false prophets and of all false teachers. Look upon the pope’s false doctrine: what is the end thereof, and what seek they thereby? Wherefore serveth purgatory, but to purge thy purse, and to poll thee, and rob both thee and thy heirs of house and lands, and of all thou hast, that they may be in honour? Serve not pardons for the same purpose? Whereto pertaineth praying to saints, but to offer unto their bellies? Wherefore serveth confession, but to sit in thy conscience and to make thee fear and tremble at whatsoever they dream, and that thou worship them as gods? And so forth, in all their traditions, ceremonies, and conjurations, they serve not the Lord, but their bellies. Covetousness and desire of honour is the end of all false doctrine, and that which false prophets seek. W. T. Purgatory. W. T. Pardons. W. T. Praying to saints. W. T. Confession. W. T.

And of their false expounding the scripture, and drawing it contrary unto the ensample of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets, unto their damnable covetousness and filthy ambition, take an ensample: When Peter saith to Christ, (Matt. xvi.) “Thou art the Son of the living God;” and Christ answered, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation;” by the rock interpret they Peter. And then cometh the pope, and will be Peter’s successor, whether Peter will or will not; yea, whether God will or will not; and though all the scripture say, ‘Nay,’ to any such succession; and saith, ‘Lo, I am the rock, the foundation, and head of

[<sup>1</sup> Written also *nouse*: to nurse, to nurse up.]

An example of false expounding the scriptures. W. T. Matt. xvi.

Christ's church.' Now saith all the scripture, that the rock is Christ, the faith, and God's word. As Christ saith, (Matt. vii.) "He that heareth my words, and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth on a rock." For the house that is built on God's word will stand, though heaven should fall. And, John xv. "Christ is the vine, and we the branches:" so is Christ the rock, the stock, and foundation whereon we be built. And Paul (1 Cor. iii.) calleth Christ our foundation; and all other, whether it be Peter or Paul, he calleth them our<sup>2</sup> servants, to preach Christ, and to build us on him. If therefore the pope be Peter's successor, his duty is to preach Christ only; and other authority hath he none<sup>3</sup>. And (2 Cor. xi.) Paul marrieth us unto Christ, and driveth us from all trust and confidence in man. And, (Eph. ii.) saith Paul, "Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets;" that is, on the word which they preached; "Christ being, saith he, the head corner-stone, in whom every building coupled together groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord; in whom also ye are built together and made an habitation for God in the Spirit." And Peter, in the iind of his first epistle, buildeth us on Christ; contrary to the pope, which buildeth us on himself. Hell gates shall not prevail against it; that is to say, against the congregation that is built upon Christ's faith, and upon God's word. Now were the pope the rock, hell gates could not prevail against him: for the house could not stand, if the rock and foundation whereon it is built did perish: but the contrary see we in our popes. For hell gates have prevailed against them many hundred years, and have swallowed them up, if God's word be true, and the stories that are written of them; yea, or if it be true that we see with our eyes. "I will give thee the keys of heaven," saith Christ, and not, "I give;" and, John xx. after the resurrection paid it, and gave the keys to them all indifferently.

[<sup>2</sup> Day omits *our*.]

[<sup>3</sup> Art. XXII. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is: 'He saith, The pope hath no other authority, but to preach only.' To this Foxe replies: 'Christ saith to Peter, Feed my sheep; and, Thou being converted confirm thy brethren. And to his apostles he said, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel. Again St Paul saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach. To what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge who consider the scriptures. This heresy is only to the pope; but none at all to God.']

Christ, the  
faith, and  
God's word  
is the rock,  
and not the  
pope.  
Matt. vii.

John xv.

1 Cor. iii.

The authority  
of Peter's  
successor is  
but to preach.  
2 Cor. xi.

Eph. ii.

1 Pet. ii.

John xx.

That exposition is false which is against the open scripture, or against the practising of Christ and of his apostles. W. T.

"Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Of this text maketh the pope what he will; and expoundeth it contrary to all the scripture, contrary to Christ's practising, and the apostles', and all the prophets'. Now the scripture giveth record to himself, and ever expoundeth itself by another open text. If the pope then cannot bring for his exposition the practising of Christ, or of the apostles and prophets, or an open text, then is his exposition false doctrine. Christ expoundeth himself, (Matt. xviii.) saying: "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him betwixt him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: but if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two," and so forth, as it standeth in the text. He concludeth, saying to them all: "Whatsoever ye bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Where binding is but to rebuke them that sin; and loosing to forgive them that repent. And, "Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins ye hold, they are holden." And Paul (1 Cor. v.) bindeth; and (2 Cor. ii.) looseth, after the same manner.

John xx.

1 Cor. v.

2 Cor. ii.

Binding and loosing is one power. W. T.

Also this binding and loosing is one power: and as he bindeth, so looseth he; yea, and bindeth first ere he can loose. For who can loose that is not bound? Now whatsoever Peter bindeth, or his successor, (as he will be called and is not, but indeed the very successor of Satan,) is not so to be understood, that Peter, or the pope, hath power to command a man to be in deadly sin, or to be damned, or to go into hell, saying, Be thou in deadly sin; be thou damned; go thou to hell; go thou to purgatory: for that exposition is contrary to the everlasting testament that God hath made unto us in Christ. He sent his Son Christ to loose us from sin, and damnation, and hell; and that to testify unto the world, sent he his disciples. (Acts i.) Paul also hath no power to destroy, but to edify. 2 Cor. x. xiii. How can Christ give his disciples power against himself, and against his everlasting testament? Can he send them to preach salvation, and give them power to damn whom they lust? What mercy and profit have we in Christ's death, and in his gospel, if the pope, which passeth all men in wickedness, hath power to send whom he will to hell, and to damn whom he lusteth? We had then no cause,

Acts i.

2 Cor. x. xiii.

to call him Jesus, that is to say, Saviour; but might of right call him destroyer. Wherefore, then, this binding is to be understood as Christ interpreteth it in the places above rehearsed, and as the apostles practised it, and is nothing but to rebuke men of their sins by preaching the law. A man must first sin against God's law, ere the pope can bind him: yea, and a man must first sin against God's law, ere he need to fear the pope's curse. For cursing and binding are both one; and nothing, saving to rebuke a man of his sins by God's law. It followeth also, then, that the loosing is of like manner; and is nothing but forgiving of sin to them that repent, through preaching of the promises which God hath made in Christ; in whom only we have all forgiveness of sins, as Christ interpreteth it, and as the apostles and prophets practised it. So is it a false power that the pope taketh on him, to loose God's laws; as to give a man licence to put away his wife to whom God hath bound him, and to bind them to chastity, which God commandeth to marry; that is to wit, them that burn and cannot live chaste. It is also a false power to bind that which God's word maketh free, making sin in the creatures which God hath made for man's use.

What Jesus  
signifieth.  
W. T.  
What bind-  
ing meaneth.  
W. T.

What cursing  
meaneth.

What loosing  
meaneth.  
W. T.

The pope, which so fast looseth and purgeth in purgatory, cannot, with all the loosings and purgations that he hath, either loose or purge our appetites, and lust, and rebellion that is in us against the law of God. And yet the purging of them is the right purgatory. If he cannot purge them that are alive, wherewith purgeth he them that are dead? The apostles knew no other ways to purge, but through preaching God's word, which word only is that that purgeth the heart, as thou mayest see, John xv. "Ye are pure," saith Christ, "through the word." Now the pope preacheth not to them whom they feign to lie in purgatory, no more than he doth to us that are alive. How then purgeth he them? The pope is kin to Robin Goodfellow; which sweepeth the house, washeth the dishes, and purgeth all, by night; but when day cometh, there is nothing found clean<sup>1</sup>.

John xv.

The pope is  
Robin Good-  
fellow. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Robin Goodfellow was the name given by popular superstition to an imaginary elfin sprite, concerning whom more may be seen, by those who wish it, in Todd's notes on verses 103 and 105 of Milton's *L'Allegro*.]

Some man will say, the pope bindeth them not, they bind themselves. I answer, he that bindeth himself to the pope, and had lever have his life and soul ruled by the pope's will than by the will of God, and by the pope's word than by the word of God, is a fool. And he that had lever be bond than free, is not wise. And he that will not abide in the freedom wherein Christ hath set us, is also mad. And he that maketh deadly sin where none is, and seeketh causes of hatred between him and God, is not in his right wits. Furthermore, no man can bind himself, further than he hath power over himself. He that is under the power of another man, cannot bind himself without licence, as son, daughter, wife, servant, and subject. Neither canst thou give God that which is not in thy power. Chastity canst thou not give, further than God lendeth it thee: if thou cannot live chaste, thou art bound to marry or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bindest thyself must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee freely, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ, and so forth<sup>1</sup>. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there shalt thou find it more largely entreated.

Of ourselves  
we can per-  
form nothing  
further than  
God will  
give us  
power.  
Ant. ed.

Another  
example.  
W. T.  
Matt. xxiii.

Take another ensample of their false expounding the scripture. Christ saith, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but after their works do not." Lo, say our sophisters or hypocrites, live we never so abominably, yet is our authority never the less. Do as we teach therefore, (say they,) and not as we do. And yet Christ saith, they sit on Moses' seat; that is, as long they teach Moses, do as they teach. For the law of Moses is the law of God. But for their own traditions and false doctrine Christ rebuked them, and disobeyed them, and taught other to beware of their leaven. So if our Pharisees sit on Christ's seat and preach him, we ought to hear them; but when they sit on their own seat, then ought we to beware as well of their pestilent doctrine as of their abominable living.

To sit on  
Christ's seat  
is to preach  
and confess  
Christ.  
Aut. ed.

Likewise where they find mention made of a sword, they

[<sup>1</sup> Art. XXIII. of heresies and errors, charged against Tyndale: 'He saith, If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel.' Foxe replies, 'Read and confer the place of Tyndale.']

turn it unto the pope's power. The disciples said unto Christ, Luke xxii. "Lo, here be two swords." And Christ answered, Luke xxii. "Two is enough." Lo, say they, the pope hath two swords, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. And therefore is it lawful for him to fight and make war.

Christ, a little before he went to his passion, asked his disciples, saying, "When I sent you out without all provision, lacked ye any thing? and they said, Nay. And he answered, But now let him that hath a wallet take it with him, and he that hath a scrip likewise; and let him that hath never a sword, sell his coat and buy one:" as who should say, 'It shall go otherwise now than then. Then ye went forth in faith of my word, and my Father's promises; and it fed you and made provision for you, and was your sword, and shield, and defender; but now it shall go as thou readest Zechariah xiii. "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered." Now shall my Father leave me in the hands of the wicked; and ye also shall be forsaken and destitute of faith, and shall trust in yourselves, and in your own provision, and in your own defence.' Christ gave no commandment; but prophesied what should happen: and they, because they understood him not, answered, "Here are two swords." And Christ (to make an end of such babbling) answered, "Two is enough." For if he had commanded every man to buy a sword, how had two been enough? Also, if two were enough, and pertained to the pope only, why are they all commanded to buy every man a sword? By the sword, therefore, Christ prophesied, that they should be left unto their own defence. And two swords were enough; yea, never-a-one had been enough: for if every one of them had had ten swords, they would have fled ere midnight.

In the same chapter of Luke, not twelve lines from the foresaid text, the disciples, even at the last supper, asked who should be the greatest. And Christ rebuked them, and said it was an heathenish thing, and there should be no such thing among them, but that the greatest should be as the smallest, and that to be great was to do service as Christ did. But this text because it is brighter than the sun, that they can make no sophistry of it, therefore will they not hear it, nor let other know it.

Luke xxii.  
Christ rebuketh desire of pre-eminence in his disciples, but the pope challengeth it above all men as his own inheritance.  
Ant. ed.

Fathers, fathers.  
W. T.

Forasmuch now as thou partly seest the falsehood of our prelates, how all their study is to deceive us and to keep us in darkness, to sit as gods in our consciences, and handle us at their pleasure, and to lead us whither they lust; therefore I read<sup>1</sup> thee, get thee to God's word, and thereby try all doctrine, and against that receive nothing; neither any exposition contrary unto the open texts, neither contrary to the general articles of the faith, neither contrary to the living and practising of Christ and his apostles. And when they cry, 'Fathers, fathers,' remember that it were the fathers that blinded and robbed the whole world, and brought us into this captivity, wherein these enforce to keep us still. Furthermore, as they of the old time are fathers to us, so shall these foul monsters be fathers to them that come after us; and the hypocrites that follow us will cry of these and of their doings, 'Fathers, fathers,' as these cry 'Fathers, fathers,' of them that are past. And as we feel our fathers, so did they that are past feel their fathers: neither were there in the world any other fathers than such as we both see and feel this many hundred years; as their decrees bear record, and the stories and chronicles well testify. If God's word appeared any where, they agreed all against it. When they had brought that asleep, then strove they one with another about their own traditions, and one pope condemned another's decrees<sup>2</sup>, and were sometime two, yea, three popes at once<sup>3</sup>. And

[<sup>1</sup> Read: advise.]

[<sup>2</sup> The popish historian, Platina, after narrating how Stephen VI., who became pope in 897, ordered the body of his predecessor, Formosus, to be torn from its grave and otherwise treated with strange indecency, says: *Magna fuit hæc controversia et pessimi exempli; cum postea fere semper servata hæc consuetudo sit, ut acta priorum pontificum sequentes aut infringerent aut omnino tollerent.*—His history of the next pope commences as follows: *Romanus, patria Romanus, ubi pontificatum init, Stephani pontificis decreta et acta statim improbat abrogatque.*—In the same year, 900, John IX. succeeded to the popedom; and of him Platina says: *Pontifex creatus, Formosi causam in integrum restituit, adversante magna populi Romani parto. Ravennam profectus, iv. et lxx. episcoporum habito conventu, et Stephani res gestas improbavit, et Formosi acta restituit; dijudicans perperam a Stephano factum, qui censuit eos iterum ordinandos esse, quos Formosus ad sacros ordines asciverat. Plat. liber de Vita Christi ac Pontificum omnium. 1485.]*

[<sup>3</sup> Besides other instances of this, both earlier and later, the papacy



one bishop went to law with another, and one cursed another for their own fantasies, and such things as they had falsely gotten. And the greatest saints are they that most defended the liberties of the church (as they call it), which they falsely got with blinding kings; neither had the world any rest this many hundred years, for reforming of friars and monks, and ceasing of schisms that were among our clergy. And as for the holy doctors, as Augustine, Hierome, Cyprian, Chrysostomus, and Bede, will they not hear. If they wrote any thing negligently, (as they were men,) that draw they clean contrary to their meaning, and thereof triumph they. Those doctors knew of none authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought or once dreamed that ever any such should be, or of any such whispering, or of pardons, or scouring of purgatory, as they have feigned.

And when they cry, 'Miracles, miracles,' remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood, against which we may receive no miracles<sup>4</sup>; no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, by his own teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the preaching of the angels of heaven. Wherefore either they are no miracles

Miracles,  
miracles.  
W. T.

The woman  
of Lornster  
was a solemn  
miracle.  
W. T.

had been divided, throughout Europe, by a continual succession of rival popes, from Sept. 21, 1378, to July 26, 1429. The emperor Sigismund, and other temporal princes, being scandalized by the irreconcilable claims of three co-existing popes, John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII., had induced John to sanction the convoking of a council, which met at Constance in 1414, for the avowed purpose of putting an end to this schism. By its decrees, supported by the imperial authority, John himself was deposed for notorious criminality of a very gross description, and Benedict was declared a schismatic; whilst Gregory abdicated, to avoid a similar sentence. The papal chair being thus pronounced vacant, Martin V. was elected to fill it. But Benedict was still acknowledged as pope in Aragon, Sicily, and Scotland; and, on his death, two cardinals gave him a successor who styled himself Clement VIII.; but eventually closed this long schism by submitting to Martin, eleven years after the dissolution of the council.]

[<sup>4</sup> Art. XXIV. of alleged heresies: 'He denieth, rebuketh, and damnth miracles.' Foxe replies, 'The words in Tyndale's Obedience be these;' and then he gives the above sentence.]

[<sup>5</sup> In B. I. ch. xiv. of More's Dialogue 'treating of the veneration and worship of images and reliques, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimage; with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther

but they have feigned them, (as is the miracle that St Peter hallowed Westminster<sup>1</sup>;) or else if there be miracles that confirm doctrine contrary to God's word, then are they done

and Tyndale,' he has himself told the tale of the woman of Lemster: of whom he makes one of the speakers say, 'that the prior brought privily a strange wench into the church, and said that she was sent thither by God.—And after she was grated within iron grates above in the rood loft, where it was believed she lived without any meat or drink, only by angels' food. And divers times she was houseled in sight of the people with an host unconsecrate, and all the people looking upon, there was a device with a small hair that conveyed the host from the paten of the chalice out of the prior's hands into her mouth, as though it came alone; so that all the people, not of the town only, but also of the country about, took her for a very quick saint, and daily sought so thick to see her, that many, that could not come near to her, cried out aloud, Holy maiden Elizabeth, help me, and were fain to throw their offering over their fellows' heads for press.' The narrator proceeds to say that the steps prudently taken by the mother of Henry VI. led to the detection of this device, and of other wickedness confessed by her two miserable partners in guilt. 'An faith, quod I,' (says More, as the other speaker,) 'it had been great almes the prior and she had been burned together at one stako. What came of the prior? Quod he, that can I not tell, but I wene he was put to such punishment as the poor nun was, that had given her in penance to say this verse, *Miserere mei Deus, quoniam conculcavit me homo*, with a great threat, that an she did so any more, she should say the whole psalm.' Sir Th. More's Works, as republished in Q. Mary's reign, fol. 134-5.]

[<sup>1</sup> In Sir Thomas More's unfinished history of the reign Richard of III., he gives an account of Richard's proposing to a council of nobles and prelates, that means should be taken to remove the second son of Edward IV. from the sanctuary in Westminster. 'Then,' says More, 'thought he,' that is, the archbishop of York, 'and such other as were of the spirituality present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted to take him out against her' (the queen's) 'will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken; which had so many years been kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was, more than five hundred years ago, by St Peter his own person, in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels, by night, so specially hallowed and dedicate to God (for the proof whereof they have yet in the abbey St Peter's cope to shew), that from that time hitherward was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.' Ibid. fol. 49.]

of the devil, (as the maid of Ipswich<sup>2</sup> and of Kent<sup>3</sup>), to prove us whether we will cleave fast to God's word, and to deceive them that have no love to the truth of God's word, nor lust to walk in his laws.

And forasmuch as they to deceive withal arm themselves against them with arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom, with worldly similitudes, with shadows, with false allegories, with false expositions of the scripture, contrary unto

The armour  
of the spi-  
rituality.  
W. T.

[<sup>2</sup> Ch. 16 of the same first book of the same dialogue is headed, 'The author sheweth that whoso would inquire, should find that at pilgrimages been daily many great and undoubted miracles wrought and well known. And specially he speaketh of the great and open miracle shewed at our lady of Ipswich of late, upon the daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth, knight.' The dialogue accordingly proceeds to give an account of this 'fair young gentlewoman of xii. years of age, in marvellous manner vexed and tormented by our ghostly enemy the devil, &c. &c.; who, being brought and laid before the image of our blessed lady, was there in the sight of many worshipful people so grievously tormented, and in face, eyes, look and countenance so grisly changed, with her mouth drawn aside, and her eyes laid out upon her cheeks, that it was a terrible sight to behold. And after many marvellous things, at the same time shewed upon divers persons by the devil through God's sufferance, as well all the remnant as the maiden herself in the presence of all the company restored to their good state, perfectly cured.']

[<sup>3</sup> The holy maid of Kent, as she was popularly styled when Tyndale wrote this treatise, was a nun named Elizabeth Barton, whom Richard Master, rector of Aldington, and a monk of Christ's-church Canterbury, had taught to feign epileptic convulsions and trances; after which she would relate pretended revelations and messages from heaven, as just delivered to her. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More for awhile, were amongst the numbers who gave credit to her inspiration. But when she had continued these impostures for about eight years, and books had been written of her pretended revelations and miracles, and More himself had said 'she was a foolish woman,' Cranmer and Cromwell having then the management of all ecclesiastical matters, the monks, whose tool she had been, were brought before them, and subjected to a strict examination. Her iniquity and that of her suborners were then confessed by herself and others, as stated in the preamble to the act for her attainder (Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12); and she and her partners in guilt were hanged at Tyburn, April 20, 1534.—See Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. Vol. II. Lett. LXXXI.—III.; Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. i. ch. xxv. pp. 176—82. Burnet, Hist. Reform. B. II. date 1534, and appendix.]

The armour  
of a christian  
man is God's  
word and  
faith. W. T.  
Eph. vi.

the living and practising of Christ and the apostles, with lies and false miracles, with false names, dumb ceremonies, with disguising of hypocrisy, with the authorities of the fathers, and last of all with the violence of the temporal sword; therefore do thou contrariwise arm thyself to defend thee withal, as Paul teacheth in the last chapter of the Ephesians: "Gird on thee the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and take to thee the shield of faith:" which is, not to believe a tale of Robin Hood, or *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>1</sup>, or of the Chronicles, but to believe God's word that lasteth ever.

Matt. xxvi.  
2 Cor. x.

And when the pope with his falsehead challengeth temporal authority above king and emperor, set before thee the xxvith chapter of St Matthew, where Christ commandeth Peter to put up his sword. And set before thee Paul, 2 Cor. xth, where he saith, "The weapons of our war are not carnal things, but mighty in God to bring all understanding in captivity under the obedience of Christ;" that is, the weapons are God's word and doctrine, and not swords of iron and steel. And set before thee the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, and their practice.

Acts viii. xi.

And when the pope challengeth authority over his fellow bishops and over all the congregation of Christ by succession of Peter, set before thee the first of the Acts; where Peter, for all his authority, put no man in the room of Judas; but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, desiring God to temper<sup>2</sup> them, that the lot might fall on the most ablest. And (Acts viii.) the apostles sent Peter; and in the xith call him to reckoning, and to give accounts of that he hath done.

Gal. ii.

And when the pope's law commandeth, saying, though that the pope live never so wickedly and draw with him through his evil ensample innumerable thousands into hell, yet see that no man presume to rebuke him, for he is head over all, and no man over him<sup>3</sup>; set before thee Galatians iind,

[<sup>1</sup> The tale of Robin Hood and the *Gesta Romanorum* were well known books then in popular use.]

[<sup>2</sup> He uses the word in its Latin sense, for *govern*; as Spenser has done in *Mother Hubbard's tale*, l. 1294.]

[<sup>3</sup> The canon law incorporated the following apophthegm, extracted, as the gloss says, '*ex dictis Bonifacii martyris*:' *Si papa suæ et fraternæ salutis negligens, deprehenditur inutilis, et remissus in opori-*

where Paul rebuketh Peter openly: and see how both to the Corinthians, and also to the Galatians, he will have no superior but God's word, and he that could teach better by God's word. And because, when he rehearsed his preaching and his doings unto the high apostles, they could improve<sup>4</sup> nothing, therefore will he be equal with the best.

God's word  
above all  
men's judg-  
ments.  
Ant. ed.



And when the friars say, they do more than their duty when they preach, and more than they are bound to: ('To say our service are we bound, say they, and that is our duty; and to preach is more than we are bound to:') set thou before thee how that Christ's blood-shedding hath bound us to love one another with all our might, and to do the uttermost of our power one to another. And Paul saith, 1 Cor. ix. "Woe be unto me, if I preach not:" yea, woe is unto him that hath wherewith to help his neighbour, and to make him better, and do it not. If they think it more than their duty to preach Christ unto you, then they think it more than their duty to pray that ye should come to the knowledge of Christ. And therefore it is no marvel though they take so great labour, yea, and so great wages also, to keep you still in darkness.

Friars be not  
bound to  
preach. W.T.

1 Cor. ix.

And when they cry furiously, 'Hold the heretics unto the wall, and if they will not revoke, burn them without any more ado; reason not with them, it is an article condemned by the fathers;' set thou before thee the saying of Peter, 1 Pet. iii. "To all that ask you be ready to give an answer of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness." The fathers of the Jews and the bishops, which had as great authority over them as ours have over us, condemned Christ and his doctrine. If it be enough to say the fathers have condemned it, then are the Jews to be holden excused; yea, they are yet in the right way, and we in the false. But and if the Jews be bound to look in the scripture, and to see whether their

1 Pet. iii.

bus suis, et insuper a bono taciturnus, quod magis officit sibi et omnibus, nihilominus innumerabiles populos catervatim secum ducit, primo mancipio gehennæ, cum ipso plagis multis in æternum vapulaturus; hujus culpas istic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus: quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.—Corpus Juris Canon. Decreti pars 1<sup>ma</sup>, Distinct. xl. ca. vi. or Si Papa. Ed. Lugduni, MDCXXII.]

[<sup>4</sup> That is, *find fault with*.]

fathers have done right or wrong ; then are we likewise bound to look in the scripture, whether our fathers have done right or wrong, and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the scripture and authority of God's word.

How God  
ought to be  
served.  
W. T.



And of this manner defend thyself against all manner wickedness of our sprites<sup>1</sup>, armed always with God's word, and with a strong and a stedfast faith thereunto. Without God's word do nothing. And to his word add nothing ; neither pull any thing therefrom, as Moses everywhere teacheth thee. Serve God in the spirit, and thy neighbour with all outward service. Serve God as he hath appointed thee ; and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word ; and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word : for they are nothing else than plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods<sup>2</sup>.

In Christ is  
rest of con-  
science only.  
W. T.  
Eph. ii.

And remember that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our resting-place, and he is our peace. For as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ ; till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for his sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. Have I done it with so great love as I should do ? Was I so glad in doing, as I would be to receive help at my need ? I have left this or that undone ; and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all ? Have I told all the circumstances ? Did I repent enough ? Had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins, as I had pleasure in doing them ? Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves, which

Note.

[<sup>1</sup> Sprites C: spirites D. He seems to mean to designate the spirituality, or popish clergy: a few pages further on he says, 'I have uttered the wickedness of the spirituality.']

[<sup>2</sup> Art. XXV. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal ; for it is plain idolatry.' To this Foxe does but reply, 'The place is this,' and therewith gives Tyndale's words.]

sell their pardon so good cheap, or some whiles give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein themselves. They build colleges, and make perpetuities, to be prayed for for ever; and lade the lips of their beadmen, or chaplains, with so many masses, and diriges, and so long service, that I have known of some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatency and weariness of so painful labour.

As pertaining to good deeds therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for his sake; and on that rock build thine house, and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits, which study with all falsehood to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace so to do, unto whom be glory for ever! Amen.

Do good  
deeds, and  
trust in  
Christ. W. T.

## VII. THE ANSWER TO MORE

### [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.]

ON 7 March 1528, Bishop Tunstall licensed Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to read the works of heretics in order to confute them. By the following year More had produced a work in the form of an imaginary dialogue, which defended the Roman Church. By January 1531 Tyndale had his 'Answer' ready, but it was not printed until July. There is some doubt as to where the book was printed. George Joye says in his 'Apology,' written three years later, that Frith saw it through the press for Tyndale, adding that it was printed in Amsterdam. This fits in with Vaughan's report to Henry VIII that Frith was in Holland at the time, and with Tyndale's own statement to Vaughan in May that 'one that had his copy' would print it. Against this is the evidence of the bibliographical experts, who argue that internal evidence suggests an Antwerp origin. The question cannot at present be settled with certainty.

A general account of More's onslaughts on Tyndale is given in the introduction. The extract given below (P.S. III. 195-208) shows Tyndale expounding justification by faith to More along lines he had earlier set out in his 'Parable of the Wicked Mammon.' Our text is based on a comparison of Day (marked D) and an earlier edition in Cambridge University Library (marked C.U.L.).]



## JUSTIFICATION

### BY FAITH

Mark therefore, the way toward justifying, or forgiveness of sin, is the law. God causeth the law to be preached unto us, and writeth it in our hearts, and maketh us by good reasons feel that the law is good, and ought to be kept, and that they which keep it not are worthy to be damned. And on the other side I feel that there is no power in me to keep the law; whereupon it would shortly follow that I should despair, if I were not shortly help. But God, which hath begun to cure me, and hath laid that *corosy*<sup>1</sup> unto my sores, goeth forth in his cure, and setteth his son Jesus before me, and all his passion and death, and saith to me: 'This is my dear Son, and he hath prayed for thee, and hath suffered all this for thee; and for his sake I will forgive thee all that thou hast done against this good law, and I will heal thy flesh, and teach thee to keep this law, if thou learn.' And I will bear with thee, and take all a worth<sup>1</sup> 'that thou doest, till thou canst do better; and in the mean season, notwithstanding thy weakness, I will yet love thee no less than I do the angels in heaven, so thou wilt be diligent to learn. And I will assist thee, and keep thee, and defend thee, and be thy shield, and care for thee.' And the heart here beginneth to mollify and wax soft, and to receive health, and believeth the mercy of God, and in believing is saved from the fear of everlasting death, and made sure of everlasting life; and then, being overcome with this kindness, beginneth to love again and to submit herself unto the laws of God, to learn them and to walk in them.

The order of justifying.

A lively description of our justification.

The great mercy and kindness of God moveth man to repentance.

Note now the order: first God giveth me light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law, and mine own sin and unrighteousness; out of which knowledge springeth repentance. Now repentance teacheth me not that the law is good,

The right order of our justification.

[<sup>1</sup> *Corosy* and a *worth*. See pp. 17 and 99.]

and I evil; but a light that the Spirit of God hath given me, out of which light repentance springeth.

Then the same Spirit worketh in mine heart trust and confidence, to believe the mercy of God and his truth, that he will do as he hath promised; which belief saveth me. And immediately out of that trust springeth love toward the law of God again. And whatsoever a man worketh of any other love than this, it pleaseth not God, nor is that love godly.

Now love doth not receive this mercy, but faith only, out of which faith love springeth; by which love I pour out again upon my neighbour that goodness which I have received of God by faith. Hereof ye see that I cannot be justified without repentance; and yet repentance justifieth me not. And hereof ye see that I cannot have a faith to be justified and saved, except love spring thereof immediately; and yet love justifieth me not before God. For my natural love to God again doth not make me first see and feel the kindness of God in Christ, but faith through preaching. For we love not God first, to compel him to love again; but he loved us first, and gave his Son for us, that we might see love and love again, saith St John in his first epistle: which love of God to us-ward we receive by Christ through faith, saith Paul.

1 John iv.

Faith only  
apprehendeth  
our justifica-  
tion.

And this example have I set out for them in divers places; but their blind popish eyes have no power to see it, covetousness hath so blinded them. And when we say, faith only justifieth us, that is to say, receiveth the mercy wherewith God justifieth us and forgiveth us; we mean not faith which hath no repentance, and faith which hath no love unto the laws of God again, and unto good works, as wicked hypocrites falsely helie us. For how then should we suffer, as we do, all misery, to call the blind and ignorant unto repentance and good works; which now do but consent unto all evil, and study mischief all day long, for all their preaching their justifying of good works? Let M. More improve this with his sophistry, and set forth his own doctrine; that we may see the reason of it, and walk in light.

What faith  
justifieth.

Hereof ye see what faith it is that justifieth us. The faith in Christ's blood, of a repenting heart toward the law, doth justify us only; and not all manner faiths. Ye must understand therefore, that ye may see to come out of More's blind maze, how that there be many faiths; and that all faiths be

not one faith, though they be all called with one general name. There is a story faith, without feeling in the heart, wherewith I may believe the whole story of the bible, and yet not set mine heart earnestly thereto, taking it for the food of my soul, to learn to believe and trust God, to love him, dread him and fear him by the doctrine and ensamples thereof; but to seem learned, and to know the story, to dispute and make merchandise, after as we have examples enough. And the faith wherewith a man doth miracles is another gift than the faith of a repenting heart, to be saved through Christ's blood; and the one no kin to the other, though M. More would have them so appear. Neither is the devil's faith, and the pope's faith (wherewith they believe that there is a God, and that Christ is, and all the story of the bible, and may yet stand with all wickedness, and full consent to evil), kin unto the faith of them that hate evil, and repent of their misdeeds, and knowledge their sins, and be fled with full hope and trust of mercy unto the blood of Christ.

There are diversities of faith, and but one faith that justifieth us.

And when he saith, 'If faith certify our hearts that we be in the favour of God, and our sins forgiven, and become good, ere we do good works (as the tree must be first good, ere it bring forth good fruit, by Christ's doctrine), then we make good works but a shadow wherewith a man is never the better.' Nay, sir, we make good works fruits; whereby our neighbour is the better, and whereby God is honoured, and our flesh tamed. And we make of them sure tokens; whereby we know that our faith is no feigned imagination and dead opinion, made with captiving our wits after the pope's traditions, but a lively thing wrought by the Holy Ghost.

Out of a lively and justifying faith springeth good works.

And when he disputeth, 'If they that have faith, have love unto the law, and purpose to fulfil it, then faith alone justifieth not;' how will he prove that argument? He juggleth with this word 'alone'; and would make the people believe that we said, how a bare faith that is without all other company, of repentance, love, and other virtues, yea, and without God's Spirit too, did justify us, so that we should not care to do good. But the scripture so taketh not *alone*, nor we so mean, as M. More knoweth well enough. When an horse beareth a saddle and a man therein, we may well say, that the horse only, and alone, beareth the saddle; and is not help of the man in bearing thereof. But he would make men understand that

Faith alone justifieth.

A similitude.

More is  
maliciously  
blind.

we meant, the horse bare the saddle empty and no man therein: let him mark this, to see his ignorance, which would God were not coupled with malice. Every man that hath wit hath a will too; and then, by M. More's argument, wit only giveth not the light of the understanding. Now the conclusion is false, and contrary true: for the wit without help of the will giveth the light of the understanding; neither doth the will work at all, until the wit have determined this or that to be good or bad. Now what is faith, save a spiritual light of understanding, and an inward knowledge or feeling of mercy? Out of which knowledge love doth spring. But love brought me not that knowledge, for I knew it ere I loved: so that love in the process of nature, to dispute from the cause to the effect, helpeth not at all to the feeling that God is merciful to me; no more than the loving heart and kind behaviour of an obedient wife to her husband maketh her see his love and kindness to her; for many such have unkind husbands: hut by his kind deeds to her doth she see his love. Even so my love and deeds make me not see God's love to me, in the process of nature; but his kind deeds to me, in that he gave his Son for me, make me see his love, and to love again.

An apt and  
proper ex-  
ample of  
love.

Our love and good works make not God first love us, and change him from hate to love, as the Turk, Jew, and vain popish mean; but his love and deeds make us love, and change us from hate to love. For he loved us when we were evil, and his enemies, as testifieth Paul in divers places; and choso us, to make us good and to shew us love, and to draw us to him, that we should love again.

Rom. v.  
God loved us  
first, that we  
should love  
him again.

The father loveth his child, when it hath no power to do good, and when it must he suffered to run after its own lusts without law; and never loveth it better than then, to make it better, and to shew it love, to love again. If ye could see what is written in the first epistle of John, though all the other scripture were laid apart, ye should see all this.

And ye must understand, that we sometime dispute forward, from the cause to the effect; and sometime backward from the effect to the cause, and must beware that we be not therewith beguiled. We say, summer is come, and therefore all is green; and dispute forward: for summer is the cause of greenness. We say the trees be green, and therefore summer is come; and dispute backward from the

effect to the cause: for the green trees make not summer, but make summer known. So we dispute backward: the man doth good deeds, and profitable unto his neighbour; he must therefore love God: he loveth God; he must therefore have a true faith and see mercy. And yet my works make not my love, nor my love my faith, nor my faith God's mercy: but contrary, God's mercy maketh my faith; and my faith, my love; and my love, my works. And if the pope could see mercy, and work of love to his neighbour, and not sell his works to God for heaven, after Master More's doctrine, we needed not so subtle disputing of faith.

He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.

Note here the mercy and goodness of God.

And when M. More allegeth Paul to the Corinthians, to prove that faith may be without love, he proveth nothing, but juggleth only. He saith, 'It is evident by the words of Paul, that a man may have a faith to do miracles without love, and may give all his good in alms without love, and his body to burn for the name of Christ, and all without charity.' Well, I will not stick with him: he may so do, without charity, and without faith thereto. Then a man may have faith without faith. Yea, verily, because there be many differences of faith, as I have said; and not all faiths one faith, as Master More juggleth. We read in the works of St Cyprian, that there were martyrs that suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ all the year long, and were tormented and healed again, and then brought forth afresh: which martyrs believed, as ye do, that the pain of their martyrdom should be a deserving, and merit enough, not only to deserve heaven for themselves, but to make satisfaction for the sins of other men thereto; and gave pardons of their merits, after the ensample of the pope's doctrine; and forgave the sins of other men, which had openly denied Christ, and wrote unto Cyprian, that he should receive those men that had denied Christ into the congregation again, at the satisfaction of their merits: for which pride Cyprian wrote to them, and called them the devil's martyrs, and not God's<sup>1</sup>. Those martyrs had a faith without faith: for had

Faith may be had without love, but it is a barren and naked faith.

Cyprian. Martyrs that suffered all a year long. W. T.

The devil's martyrs.

[<sup>1</sup> Amongst Cyprian's correspondence are several letters on this topic. It was not till some of the apostates had proceeded so far as to say, 'Since the martyrs' requests are not allowed to suffice for our immediate re-admission to communion, we will have a church and bishop of our own,' and had acted upon this threat, that Cyprian spoke

We must do  
good works  
of love, and  
not for  
reward.

they believed that all mercy is given for Christ's blood-shedding, they would have sent other men thither; and would have suffered their own martyrdom for love of their neighbours only, to serve them, and to testify the truth of God in our Saviour Jesus unto the world, to save at the least way some, that is to wete, the elect; for whose sake Paul suffereth all things, and not to win heaven. If I work for a worldly purpose, I get no reward in beaven: even so if I work for heaven, or an higher place in heaven, I get there no reward. But I must do my work for the love of my neighbour, because he is my brother, and the price of Christ's blood, and because Christ hath deserved it, and desireth it of me; and then my reward is great in heaven.

Our doings  
can deserve  
nothing, but  
Christ hath  
deserved for  
us.

And all they which believe that their sins be forgiven them, and they received, as the scripture testifieth, unto the inheritance of heaven for Christ's merits, the same love Christ, and their brethren for his sake; and do all things for their sakes only; not once thinking of heaven when they work, but on their brethren's need. When they suffer themselves above might, then they comfort their soul with the remembrance of heaven, that this wretchedness shall have an end, and we shall have a thousand-fold pleasures and rewards in heaven; not for the merits of our deservings, but given us freely for Christ's. And he that hath that love hath the right faith; and he that hath that faith hath the right love. For I cannot love my neighbour for Christ's sake, except I first believe that I have received such mercy of Christ. Nor can I believe that I have received such mercy of Christ, but that I must love my neighbour for his sake; seeing that he so instantly desireth me.

James ii.

And when he allegeth St James, it is answered him in the Mammon<sup>1</sup>; and St Augustine answereth him<sup>2</sup>. And St

of their abettors in any terms of such severity as Tyndale mentions.—  
Ep. xli-xliii. p. 29-85.—Cyprian. Op. Oxford, 1682.]

[<sup>1</sup> Parable of Mammon, P.S. I. p. 119.]

[<sup>2</sup> More, having previously named Luther and Tyndale, says: "They would we should ween that St James did speak of faith like one that wist not what faith meant, but were deceived by equivocation of the word, calling faith the thing that is not faith indeed. These Lutherans abuse the word of a malicious mind, to deceive unlearned people with equivocation. For whereas faith signifieth the belief and firm credence given not only to such things as God pro-

James expoundeth himself. For he saith in the first chapter, "God, which begat us with his own will, with the word of truth:" which word of truth is his promise of mercy and forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus; by which he begat us, gave us life, and made us a new creature through a fast faith. And James goeth and rebuketh the opinion and false faith of them that think it enough to be saved by, if they believe that there is but one God, and that Christ was horn of a virgin, and a thousand things which a man may believe, and yet not believe in Christ, to be saved from sin through him. And that James speaketh of another faith than at the beginning, appeareth by his ensample. The devils have faith, saith he: yea, but the devils have no faith that can repent of evil, or to believe in Christ to be saved through him, or that can love God, and work his will of love. Now Paul speaketh of a faith that is in Christ's blood, to be saved thereby; which worketh immediately, through love of the benefit received. And James, at the beginning, speaketh of a faith that bideth trying, saying, "The trying of your faith worketh," or causeth, "patience;" but the faith of the devils will bide no trying, for they will not work God's will, because they love him not. And in like manner is it of the faith of them that repent not, or that think themselves without sin: for except a man feel out of what danger Christ hath delivered him, he cannot love the work. And therefore James saith right, 'that no such faith, that will not work, can justify a man.'

James reproveth false faith, and not a true lively faith.

Faith that will not work, when opportunity serveth, cannot justify.

miseth, but also to every truth that he telleth his church, by writing or without, which thing he will have us bound to believe; and whereas of truth the devils, as James saith, do believe such things, and have them in a reverent dread; now would these heretics blind us with their equivocation, by which they not only restrain the faith unto the promises alone, from all other articles of the faith, of which many be no promises, but also abuse the word faith altogether, turning it slyly from belief into trust, confidence, and hope; and would have it seem as though our faith were nothing else but a hope we have in God's promises."—Works, Dial. p. 266. Conf. August. Op. Paris. 1679—1700. Serm. clxx. xiii. Tom. v. col. 878. *Jacobus apostolus cum de fide et operibus loqueretur adversus eos qui sibi putabant fidem sufficere, et opera bona habere nolebant, ait, Tu credis quia unus est Deus; bene facis; et dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt. Numquid ideo dæmones ab æterno igne liberabuntur, quia credunt et contremiscunt? Ecce modo quod audistis in evangelio, quod ait Petrus, &c.]*

How works  
justify. W. T.

And when Paul saith, 'faith only justifieth;' and James, that 'a man is justified by works and not by faith only;' there is a great difference between Paul's *only*, and James's *only*. For Paul's *only* is to be understood, that faith justifieth in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and ere I can work; for I must receive life through faith to work with, ere I can work. But James's *only* is this wise to be understood; that faith doth not so justify, that nothing justifieth save faith: for deeds do justify also. But faith justifieth in the heart and before God; and the deeds before the world only, and maketh the other seen: as ye may see by the scripture.

Rom. iv.

John viii.

Abraham  
believed  
God's pro-  
mises, and  
therefore was  
justified.

For Paul saith (Rom. iv.) "If Abraham have works, he hath whereof to rejoyce, but not before God." For if Abraham had received those promises of deserving, then had it been Abraham's praise and not God's, as thou mayest see in the text; neither had God shewed Abraham mercy and grace, but had only given him his duty and deserving. But in that Abraham received all the mercy that was shewed him, freely, through faith, out of the deservings of the Seed that was promised him, as thou mayest see by Genesis and by the gospel of John, where Christ testifieth that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced, and of that joy no doubt wrought; it is God's praise, and the glory of his mercy. And the same mayest thou see by James; when he saith, "Abraham offered his son, and so was the scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed, and it was reckoned him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend." How was it fulfilled? Before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before; and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him: Abraham received promises of all mercy, and believed and trusted God, and went and wrought out of that faith. But it was fulfilled before us which cannot see the heart; as James saith, "I will shew thee my faith out of my works;" and as the angel said to Abraham, "Now I know that thou darest God." Not but that he knew it before, but for us spake he that, which can see nought in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

And what works meant James? Verily, the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or suste-



nance, and ye be not moved to compassion, nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith (be sure) that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ: for they that feel that, be merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our spirituality, which will not only be justified with works before the world, but also before God. They have had all Christendom to rule this eight hundred years, and as they only be anointed in the head, so have they only been king and emperor, and have had all power in their hands, and have been the doers only, and the leaders of those shadows that have had the name of princes; and have led them whither they would, and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare; and are become alone well at ease, only free, only at liberty, only have all thing, and only do nought therefore, only lay on other men's backs, and hear nought themselves. And the good works of them that wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to find the poor, them devour they also alone. And what works preach they? Only that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences as God: to offer, to give to be prayed for, and to be delivered out of purgatory, and to redeem your sin of them, and to worship ceremonies, and to be shriven, and so forth.

*He that seeth his neighbour in necessity, and hath no compassion on him, hath no faith.*

*The papists preach works that are profitable to themselves.*

And when M. More is come to himself, and saith, "The first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving;" God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe me what he meaneth by the second justifying<sup>1</sup>. I know no more to do than, when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.

*More* :—"David lost not his faith, when he committed adultery."

*David.*

*Tyndale* :—"No; and therefore he could not continue in sin, but repented as soon as his fault was told him. But was he not reconciled by faith only, and not by deeds? Said he not, "Have mercy on me, Lord, for thy great mercy, and for the multitude of thy mercies put away my sin?" And again,

*Psalms 11.*

[<sup>1</sup> 'The first receipt of grace in their divinity is the first justification: the increase thereof the second justification.'—Disc. of Just., Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p. 435. Oxford, 1807.]

When we have offend-  
ed God, we must return quickly by repentance, and call upon God to hear us for Christ our Saviour's sake.

"Make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice?" that is, let me hear thy voice that my sin is forgiven, and then I am safe and will rejoice. And afterward he knowledgeth that God delighteth not in sacrifices for sins, but that a troubled spirit and a broken heart is that which God requireth. And when the peace was made, he prayeth boldly and familiarly to God, that he would be good to Sion and Jerusalem; and saith that then, last of all, when God hath forgiven us of mercy, and hath done us good for our evil, we shall offer sacrifice of thanks to him again: so that our deeds are but thanksgiving. When we have sinned, we go with a repenting heart unto Christ's blood, and there wash it off through faith. And our deeds are but thanksgiving to God, to help our neighbours at their need, for which our neighbours and each of them owe us as much again at our need. So that the testament, or forgiveness of sins, is built upon faith in Christ's blood, and not on works.

*Pœna, culpa.*

As we have received at the hand of God mercy, so must we shew mercy to our neighbours.

M. More will run to the pope for forgiveness, *a pœna et culpa*. By what merits doth the pope that? By Christ's. And Christ hath promised all his merits to them that repent and believe, and not given them unto the pope to sell. And in your absolutions ye oft absolve without enjoining of penance. 'He must have a purpose to do good works,' will ye say. That condition is set before him to do, out of the mercy that he hath received; and not to receive mercy out of them. But the popish cannot repent out of the heart; and therefore cannot feel the mercy that faith bringeth; and therefore cannot be merciful to their neighbours, to do their works for their sakes: but they feign them a sorrow for their sin, in which they ever continue; and so mourn for them in the morning, that they laugh in them ere mid-day again. And then they imagine them popish deeds, to make satisfaction to God, and make an idol of him.

Works of themselves justify not.  
W. T.

And finally, that good works, as to give alms and such like, justify not of themselves, is manifest. For as the good, which are taught of God, do them well, of very love to God and Christ, and of their neighbours for Christ's sake; even so the evil do them of vain glory and a false faith wickedly, as we have examples in the Pharisees; so that a man must be good, ere he can do good. And so is it of the purpose to do them: one's purpose is good, and another's evil; so that we

must be good ere a good purpose come. Now then, to love the law of God, and to consent thereto, and to have it written in thine heart, and to profess it, so that thou art ready of thine own accord to do it and without compulsion, is to be righteous: that I grant, and that love may be called righteousness before God, *passive*; and the life and quickness of the soul, *passive*. And so far forth as a man loveth the law of God, so far forth he is righteous; and so much as he lacketh of love toward his neighbour, after the ensample of Christ, so much he lacketh of righteousness. And that thing which maketh a man love the law of God, doth make a man righteous, and justifieth him effectively and actually; and maketh him alive, as a workman and cause efficient. Now what is it that maketh a man to love? Verily, not the deeds; for they follow and spring of love, if they be good: neither the preaching of the law; for that quickeneth not the heart (Gal. iii.), but causeth wrath (Rom. iv.) and uttereth sin only (Rom. iii.). And therefore saith Paul, that righteousness springeth not out of the deeds of the law into the heart, as the Jews and the pope mean; but contrary, the deeds of the law spring out of the righteousness of the heart, if they be good: as when a father pronounceth the law, that the child shall go to school; it saith, Nay: for that killeth his heart, and all his lusts; so that he hath no power to love it. But what maketh his heart alive to love it? Verily, fair promises of love and kindness, that it shall have a gentle school-master, and shall play enough, and shall have many gay things, and so forth. Even so the preaching of faith doth work love in our souls, and make them alive, and draw our hearts to God. The mercy that we have in Christ doth make us love only, and only bringeth the spirit of life into our souls.

And therefore, saith Paul, "We be justified by faith, and by grace, without deeds:" that is, ere the deeds come. For faith only bringeth the spirit of life; and delivereth our souls from fear of damnation, which is in the law; and ever maketh peace between God and us, as oft as there is any variance between us. And finally, when the peace is made between God and us, and all forgiven through faith in Christ's blood, and we begin to love the law, we were never the nearer except faith went with us, to supply out the lack of full love; in that we have promises, that that little we have is taken a worth, and

He that loveth his neighbour for Christ's sake, the same is righteous.


Gal. iii.

Rom. iv.  
Rom. iii.

All our works, if they proceed not of love, are nothing.

Faith in Christ maketh our small works acceptable.

accepted till more come. And again, when our frailty hath overthrown us, and fear of damnation invaded our consciences, we were utterly lost, if faith were not by to help us up again; in that we are promised, that, whensoever we repent of evil, and come to the right way again, it shall be forgiven for Christ's sake. For when we be fallen, there is no testament made in works to come, that they shall save us. And therefore the works of repentance, or of the sacraments, can never quiet our consciences, and deliver us from fear of damnation.

 The righteous  
liveth by  
faith.

Faith in  
Christ's  
blood doth  
only justify  
us.

And last of all, in temptation, tribulation, and adversities, we perished daily, except faith went with us to deliver us; in that we have promises, that God will assist us, clothe us, feed us, and fight for us, and rid us out of the hands of our enemies. And thus the righteous liveth ever by faith, even "from faith to faith;" that is, as soon as he is delivered out of one temptation, another is set before him, to fight against, and to overcome through faith. The scripture saith, "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and his sins hid; and unto whom the Lord reckoneth not unrighteousness." So that the only righteousness of him that can but sin, and hath nought of himself to make amends, is the forgiveness of sin; which faith only bringeth. And as far forth as we be unrighteous, faith only justifieth us actively; and else nothing, on our part. And as far forth as we have sinned, be in sin, or do sin, or shall sin, so far forth must faith in Christ's blood justify us only, and else nothing. To love is to be righteous, so far forth as thou lovest; but not to make righteous, nor to make peace. To believe in Christ's blood with a repenting heart is to make righteous, and the only making of peace and satisfaction to God-ward. And thus, because terms be darkened<sup>1</sup> to them that be not expert and exercised, we alway set out our meaning with clear ensamples, reporting ourselves unto the hearts and consciences of all men.

[<sup>1</sup> So C. U. L. ed.; D. has *be dark.*]

## VIII. THE PRACTICE OF PRELATES

### [INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THIS was one of Tyndale's most polemical works. It dates from 1530 and was the last of his works published by the Hoochstraten press. It is chiefly remembered for the line the author takes over the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, concerning which he differs from nearly every other Reformer.

The book was reprinted under Edward VI and under Elizabeth, but each time with changes. The word 'papistical' was inserted before prelates in the title to prevent early Puritans using Tyndale against the Protestant bishops. Both the later editions omitted the passages about divorce where Tyndale was at variance with other Reformers.

Though he believed that divorce was sometimes permissible, he held that the Bible did not prohibit Catherine's marriage with the king and thus there were no grounds for this divorce. In the passage given below he discusses the interpretations of the two key texts: Lev. xviii. 16 and Deut. xxv. 5.

In the original edition the title page bears the secondary heading 'Whether the king's grace may be separated from his queen, because she was his brother's wife.' This shows Tyndale's main purpose in writing. He summons up scathing comments for Wolsey, whom he regarded as the key man in a plot, which was only a small part of the intrigues of the papacy over the centuries. The extract is from P.S. II. 323-32.]



## THE DIVORCEMENT

If the king's most noble grace will needs have another wife, then let him search the laws of God, whether it be lawful or not; forasmuch as he himself is baptized to keep the laws of God, and hath proposed them and hath sworn them. If the law of God suffer it, then let his grace put forth a little treatise in print, and even in the English tongue, that all men may see it, for his excuse and the defence of his deed, and say, 'Lo, by the authority of God's word do I this.' And then let not his grace be afraid either of the emperor, or of his lords, or of his commons and subjects: for God hath promised to keep them that keep his laws. If we care to keep his laws, he will care for the keeping of us, for the truth of his promises. If it be found unlawful, then let his grace fear God, and cease to shame himself and his blood, his lords, his subjects, and his realm, and specially the blessed name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy doctrine, and the profession of our faith: for whosoever professeth the faith of Christ, and liveth contrary unto his doctrine, shameth the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Moreover whatsoever God coupled, man may not loose, no, though he name himself pope. Wherefore, if this marriage be of God, the pope cannot dispense with it: for God hath given no power against himself; but to preach his ordinances only hath he given power. Therefore if we will see what is right and what is wrong, let us bring it unto the light of God's law, and let us submit our causes unto the judgment thereof, and be content to have our appetites slain thereby, that we lust no farther than God's ordinance giveth us liberty. For verily to desire more than God permitteth, is to tempt God, and to provoke wrath and indignation upon us, unto our destruction, as the children of Israel did under Moses, and perished: whose froward deeds are warning for us (saith Paul, 1 Cor. x.) that we, feared with the terrible ensample of 1 Cor. x. their fall, should abstain from like wickednesses.

The pope  
hath no  
authority  
against God.  
W. T.

The controversy and strife of the matter, and all the doubt and difficulty, standeth in this, that Moses in the xviii<sup>th</sup> of Leviticus saith, "Thou shalt not unhele<sup>1</sup> the secrets of thy brother's wife, for they are thy brother's secrets." Which is as

The cause  
that maketh  
the doubt,  
whether a  
man may  
marry his  
brother's  
wife. W. T.

[<sup>1</sup> Unhele, i. e. uncover.]

Lev. xviii.

Deut. xxv.

The law of  
ceremonies.  
W. T.The law of  
penalty.  
W. T.The law  
natural.  
W. T.

much to say as, thou shalt not take thy brother's wife. And in the xxvth of Deuteronomy he saith, "That if a man die without issue, his brother must marry his wife." Which two texts seem contrary, the one forbidding, the other commanding, a man to take his brother's wife. Wherefore, that we may come unto the true sense and clear meaning of these two texts, and that we may perceive also the ground of the reason that may be made by both parties by the occasion of these texts, and see which reasons do conclude, ye shall understand that the law of Moses is divided into three parts. Part of his laws are ceremonies, that is to say, signs that put men in remembrance either of the benefits of God done already, as the Easter lamb; either signs of the promise and appointment made between God and man, as circumcision; or signs that testify unto the people that the wrath of God is peaced, and their sins forgiven, as all manner sacrifices: which all ceased as soon as Christ had offered up the sacrifice of his body and blood for us; and instead of them come the open preaching of Christ, and our signs which we call sacraments.

Another sort are laws of penalty or punishment to avenge sin, if it break out and hurt a man's neighbour, as tooth for tooth, eye for eye, and that the blood-shedder must have his blood shed again, and the breaker of wedlock must be stoned: which laws were given unto the Jews only, and we heathen or Gentiles are not bound unto them, that we should punish every sin after the same manner; but it is enough that every land punish their trespassers as it seemeth best for the commonwealth there, some of one manner and some of another.

Another part pertain unto faith and love; and that a man believe how that there is but one God, and that he is true, good and merciful in all things; and therefore ought to be believed, trusted and loved with all a man's heart, soul, mind and strength; and that a man love his neighbour as himself, for God's sake, which hath created him and made him. And this is the law of nature, and pertaineth unto all nations indifferently, with all that dependeth or followeth thereof. This law was also before Moses; insomuch that though Moses had never written it, yet had the Jews been no less bound thereto by nature and by natural right and equity. For whosoever is of God, the same consenteth unto this law, and unto all that followeth thereof naturally, when he heareth it preached;



as he consenteth that the fire is hot, when he putteth his finger in it.

Moreover, whosoever hath this law graven in his heart, this same keepeth all laws; and whosoever hath it not written in his heart, the same keepeth no law. For whosoever believeth that there is one God, and loveth him with all his heart, with all his soul, mind and strength, (which is the first of the ten commandments pertaining unto the person of God,) the same will worship nothing of his own imagination without God's word; and then he can make none image to worship it: which is the second commandment pertaining unto the person of God. He cannot also, for very love sake, take the name of God in vain and swear by it unreverently: and so thou hast the third commandment pertaining unto the person of God. Furthermore, he that believeth God and hath his trust only in him, and loveth him as I said, cannot but keep his holy day, not after Moses's fashion, but spiritually: that is, he cannot but observe a time to wait on God's word, to hear it, and learn it, and to knowledge his sins to God, and to desire him of mercy, according to his promises and testament which he hath made with us: and so thou hast the fourth commandment pertaining unto the person of God. Last of all, he that so loveth God cannot disobey father and mother, in which two names are contained all high powers; as grandfather, grandmother, aunt, uncle, king, lord, master, husband, and so forth, persons here in God's stead, by which he made us, and by which he feedeth us, clotheth us, governeth us, teacheth and ruleth us. And thus thou hast the five commandments, which all pertain unto the person of God: for the obedience of father and mother, and of all high powers which rule the world in God's stead, pertaineth unto the person of God, and must be done with love as unto God's self.

Furthermore, he that loveth God hath this commandment also, that he love his brother or neighbour, in the fourth chapter of the first epistle of John. For how can a man love the father, and hate the son, whom the father loveth? Even so how canst thou love God the Creator, and hate that creature whom he hath created and made after his own likeness; and so loveth him, that he hath made him lord over all other creatures, and thereto hath given his own Son unto the death for his sake, to shew him kindness, that he might

All laws  
spring out of  
one. W. T.

1 John iv.

see love, and to love again? How also can I love our Saviour Jesus Christ, and hate him whom he hath bought with his blood? Though the son be never so evil, yet if I love his father heartily, I cannot but be sorry that the son is evil, and wish him good in mine heart, and help to the uttermost of my power to make him better, even for his father's sake: until I see him run so far that he go about to slay his father; which thing if he do, then I resist him unto the uttermost of my power. Even so, though my neighbour be never so evil, yet as long as I love God, and Christ our Saviour, with all mine heart, I cannot but love him, and help to better him with all my power; until he run so far, that he beginneth to fight against God, and to destroy the law of God, and the testament that God hath made unto man: then I resist him with all my power, as God hath taught me to resist.

Now if I love my neighbour in God faithfully and unfeignedly; then I cannot find in my heart to slay him: neither to defile his wife: neither to steal his goods: nor to bear false witness against him: neither can mine heart covet his house, wife, man-servant or maid from him, either ox, ass, or whatsoever is his. And thus hast thou other five of the ten commandments, pertaining all unto the person of thy neighbour. This is the law of nature, whose servants Moses and the prophets were, to teach it the Jews; and whose servant Christ our Saviour was, for our sakes, with his apostles, to teach it us. And it is an everlasting law, and pertaineth indifferently to all nations, with all that hangeth thereof; insomuch that though a man be never taught it, yet if it be not found written in his heart, he is the heir of damnation.

Solutions.  
W. F.

Ceremonies  
have signifi-  
cations.  
W. T.

Now they that study to make this divorcement between the king's grace and the queen, will haply say, that the first text is a law depending of the law natural, (for, undoubted, it is no ceremony, nor yet law of penalty,) and therefore pertaineth unto all men indifferently, and ought to be kept of all nations; and that the second is a ceremony, and therefore ceaseth at the coming of Christ. I answer: If it be a ceremony, then it is a sign, and must have a signification. It must signify some benefit of God done already, or some vengeance taken for sin, or some promise, or something that I must do or leave undone at the commandment of God. Now the signification of it they will shew me, when our lady hath a new son.

Moreover, there is no ceremony of Moses, but that I may keep it this day as an indifferent thing; howbeit, not as a thing so necessary unto my soul's health, that I should think that I sinned if I did not. But I may eat the Easter lamb of passover every year, when the time cometh, if I will. And I may circumcise myself for my pleasure, as well as pare my nails, if I list. And I may burn the blood and fat of oxen and calves unto this day without sin, as an indifferent thing; and give this signification thereto, that as the fat consumeth in the fire, even so doth the sin of all men that repent consume in the hot fire of the love of God to us-ward in Christ Jesus the Lord; and so forth. If it be a ceremony, then, how happeneth it that this one ceremony is unlawful among all other?

Ceremonies  
be made of  
lawful things  
W. T.

Thereto, inasmuch as Moses in all his laws sought the glory of God and the pureness of his people, as he boasteth of himself, (Deut. iv.), saying, "What nation hath ordinances and laws so righteous as all this law, which I set before you?" how cometh it that Moses was driven into so great a strait, that he would find nought to make a ceremony of, but that which of his own nature is damnable sin, and filthy among the heathen; which heathen made as just laws, out of the law natural graven in their hearts, as Moses did? Might not the heathen of good right say, "See what a filthy nation it is, they marry every one his brother's wife, as hounds?" And so the law shamed the name of God, and honoured it not. If Moses gave his people two contrary commandments, then he was an indiscreet lawgiver, yea, and devilish thereto; for then I cannot but be damned whatsoever I do. If a man say that the first pertaineth unto us heathen, and the last unto the people of Israel, that soundeth not; for when all the other laws contained in the same chapter, and in all his books, pertained unto the same people, how should he, among so many belonging unto them, mingle one for us heathen only, to whom he was no lawgiver; and namely when he wist that one as wise as he should come and teach us, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ?

Deut. iv.

If a man will say, the first is a law, and the second a permission, as the permission of divorcements, when a man did hate his wife: nay, verily, it is not a permission, but a flat commandment, and that under pain of great shame and

rebuke unto the man, if he did it not, and under the loss of all her husband's possession unto the woman, if she offered not herself. Of which law, also, because thou needest not to dream of a ceremony, a man may shew a good natural reason, profitable unto the commonwealth. For a woman, when she is married, she forsaketh her father's kin, and bringeth her dowry with her, and taketh her name among her husband's kin. Now if her husband die childless, it is not reason that she should be cast out of the kin empty, neither is it right that she should carry her husband's possessions out of his kin away with her, and that a stranger should get a child of her, to possess them. Thou wilt say, that the lands might return unto the next of his kin, and the wife have a portion her life long only. Then should great possessions come into the hands of one man, and so should there many tyrants rise among the people: which to avoid, God ordained that the lands should be scattered ever among as many as might be of the same kin; and for the same cause would suffer no man to buy any lands for ever. For God thinketh it better for his commonwealth, that twenty should spend twenty or forty shillings apiece, than that one should spend twenty or forty pounds, and nineteen never a whit: for then must many poor hang on one rich; which rich for the most part be of corrupt minds, and so sensual that they will look on no man to do him good, except it will be on such as will follow their lusts. And so should the people follow the will of man, and not of God; and be compelled to live wickedly, and to murder, steal, and oppress their brethren, to fill their bellies withal.

Moreover, it was a law in the time of the law natural, four hundred years before Moses, that a man should marry his brother's wife, as thou seest Genesis xxxviii. Also, Moses forbiddeth not a man, when his wife is dead, to marry her sister. If one man may marry two sisters, why may not one woman marry two brethren? Are not two sisters as nigh of kin as two brethren?

How the  
text is to be  
understood.  
W. T.

Wherefore I see no remedy, but that a man must understand the text thus: That Moses forbiddeth a man to take his brother's wife as long as his brother liveth; as in the text following, when he forbiddeth a man to take his neighbour's wife, he meaneth while his neighbour liveth; for

after his death it is lawful. And therefore John rebuked Herod for taking his brother's wife from him, his brother being yet alive. Or at the uttermost, if they will strive and shew no cause why, it can extend no further than that a man may not take his brother's wife, if he have issue by her; which I suppose an indifferent thing to have her or not, as they can agree: but if his brother die childless, then he ought to have her, and that she is bound to offer herself to the other brother, by the law of Moses; and that it is lawful now, though no commandment.

If it be understood of a man's brother's wife, he being alive, then haply ye will say that it is superfluously added of Moses; for it is included in that which followeth immediately, that a man shall not take his neighbour's wife. Nay, verily: for it is another sin, and a more greater sin for a man to take his brother's wife than his neighbour's wife, that is no kin to him; because that my neighbour's shame is not my shame. For let my neighbour be hanged, and no man casteth that in my teeth. But my brother's shame is my shame, and the shame of my father and mother, and of all my kin. For let whatsoever rebuke bechance my brother, and it is cast in my teeth, and in the teeth of my father and mother, and of all my kin immediately. Wherefore, to be so forgetful of natural honesty, that I should defile my brother's wife unto mine own shame and all my kin, is more grievous and heinous (as they say), and springeth of greater lewdness or malice, than to take my neighbour's wife which is not of my kin. And this doth the xxth chapter of the said Leviticus prove, where Moses saith, If a man lie with his brother's wife, they shall die immediately, and not tarry the birth: as Judah would have burnt Tamar, his daughter-in-law, being yet great with child. Lev. xx.  
Gen. xxxviii.

They will haply say also, that if it be to be understood of a man's brother's wife, while his brother liveth, then they will understand of the father's and uncle's wives also, while the father and uncle live. Nay, verily, it is far unlike. For my father's wife and mine uncle's wife are my superiors, and persons unto whom I owe obedience by the means of my father and uncle. Now if I should marry them, then I should make them my servants, (for the wife must obey her husband;) and so pervert I the law of nature and natural equity and

honesty. Ye will say that when my father and uncle be dead, the obedience is loosed. Verily, it might well stand with the pope's doctrine; for he thrusteth kings down and emperors thereto, and exalteth their sworn subjects into their rooms: he raketh one out of the dunghill on the one day, and out of the most low and vile kind of subjection, and maketh him on the morrow superior unto his own prince, and to all the lords of his realm, in worldly pomp and dignity. But God teacheth his children to humble themselves; and Christ teacheth his disciples to come lower and lower. I suppose, therefore, that a man ought much more to do them service, and obey them, and to give them honour and reverence now after the deaths of their husbands, than before. Moreover, ye see that a man may not marry his daughter-in-law after his son's death, by the story of Judah. And again, ye see that David, after the death of his son Absalom, would not meddle with his own wives, which his son Absalom had before corrupt, but shut them up in perpetual widowhood. Now if the father, after the death of his son, abstain from her that was one flesh with his son, for natural reverence; how much more ought the son, after the death of his father, to abstain from her that was one flesh with his father, to whom also, by the reason of his father, he oweth obedience thereto!

Moreover, if a woman should find a man-child by the streets, and bring him in, and find him up of nought; I would not by my will that she should after marry with him, for perverting of due obedience, which she should haply as unnaturally, even so shrewdly, give unto him again. If she obeyed not, with what face should he correct her? If he corrected her, what would she cast in his teeth, and what wondering would neighbours make? What reverence and service then suppose ye would nature (if we were not so corrupt-minded) teach us to give unto the father's and uncle's wife?

And to go through all the degrees that are forbidden: the mother, grandmother, aunts, father's wife and uncle's wife, are persons to be obeyed as God, with all reverence and service. The daughter and daughter's daughter, and son's daughter, are a man's wife's flesh. The wife's mother and grandmother are persons to be obeyed, besides that the

wife is your flesh. Now between a man and his wife's sister, when she is dead, and his brother's wife, when his brother is dead, is there no such cause as between these persons.

And concerning the maid-children, though they be under the obedience of their uncles; yet because, if any be married unto her uncle, she bideth in obedience still, therefore it is not utterly forbidden. And ensamples there be, that maidens have married unto their uncles: which thing yet I could not have drawn into a common use without necessity, or for a commonwealth.

And concerning the sister; she is of egal birth to her brother. It is to be feared, therefore, lest her obedience would be less to her brother than to a stranger. Then note the grief of father and mother, if they agreed not. Moreover, if he were an unkind husband, then had she double sorrow; first, because he is unkind, and also because she hath lost the comfort of a brother. Then the familiar bringing up together. And beside all those and such like, there is yet another, (which I think the chiefest of all,) that the sending out of daughters into another kin, and receiving again out of another kin, is the greatest cause of peace and unity that is in the world. And therefore the heathen people forbad that degree in the laws.

Nevertheless, the marriage of the brother with the sister is not so grievous against the law of nature (thinketh me) as the degrees above rehearsed. And therefore it seemeth me, that it might be dispensed with in certain cases, and for divers considerations. It would be hard to prove that Sarah was not Abraham's sister, whom I think he married because there was none other faithful woman that believed in God. Moreover, the greatest cause to send the daughter out is unity and peace between divers kindreds.

Wherefore, if greater peace and unity might be made with keeping her at home, I durst dispense with it: as, if the king of England had a son by one wife, heir to England, and a daughter by another, heir to Wales; then, because of the great war that was ever wont to be between those two countries, I would not fear to marry them together, for the making of a perpetual unity, and to make both countries one, for to avoid so great effusion of blood. For which cause, I would God that our princess had been married unto the king

of Scots. And I doubt not but that had been concluded long ago, if it had been as greatly unto the profit of the pope and his pilpates, (I would say prelates,) as it were to the honour of God. But it is not profitable for them that any kingdom should be strong and mighty, lest, if God should open the eyes of the king, the pope should have too much ado to resist him, and to send in other kings upon him, to conquer his realm.

I did my diligence a long season, to know what reasons our holy prelates should make for their divorcement; but I could not come by them. I searched what might be said for their part, but I could find no lawful cause of myself, by any scripture that I ever read: I communed with divers learned men of the matter, which also could tell me no other way than I have shewed. Then I considered the falsehood of our spirituality, how that it is but their old practice, and a common custom; yea, and a sport to separate matrimony, for to make division where such marriage made unity and peace. Wherefore I could not but declare my mind, to discharge my conscience witbal; which thing I had done long since, if I could have brought it to pass. Howbeit, I had lever now do it at the last, than that any man should cast me in the teeth in time to come, when this old marriage were broken, and a new made, why I had not spoken rather<sup>1</sup>? Neither can the king's grace, or any other christian man, of right be discontent with me. For it is not possible that any person baptized in the heart with repentance of evil, and with faith of forgiveness in the blood of Christ, and stedfast purpose and profession of heart to walk henceforth after the steps of Christ, in the law of God, should once desire or will to do aught openly, with long deliberation, that he would not have compared with the law of God, to see whether it were right or not.

[<sup>1</sup> That is, *earlier*.]



## IX. LETTERS

[IN the autumn of 1532 Frith was arrested by Bishop Stokesley's men while trying to escape to the Continent. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London, though no action was taken for five months. He got into serious trouble by writing a treatise against Transubstantiation when asked by a friend for his views on the Lord's Supper. Frith was aware of the danger, and wrote of his work as that 'which, besides my painful imprisonment, is like to purchase me most cruel death.'

Tyndale, hearing of his friend's imprisonment but unaware of his recent writing on the Lord's Supper, sent him this letter under the pseudonym of Jacob. The text is taken from Foxe, which differs very slightly from that given in Day. The Barnes mentioned is Dr Robert Barnes, the Lutheran. On Melanchthon's visit to the French king, Francis I, Tyndale was misinformed. The counsel mentioned is probably the seizure of Church property. Joye's treatise is probably 'The Supper of The Lord', wrongly attributed by many to Tyndale (see p. xi).]

## 1. LETTERS TO JOHN FRITH.

## I

THE grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart. Amen.

Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect: and that you keep a-low by the ground, avoiding high questions that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the vail of Moses, to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable: and then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them (I mean the law of God and mercy of Christ) that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate, I commit it to God. Philip Melanchthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses; and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joye would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would

make many reasons, little serving to the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth, till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within in the heart, in spirit and verity, even so to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere, though it cannot be proved, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit, if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

I guessed long ago that God would send a dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety: and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth; but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But and if aught be required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God; and be not overcome of men's persuasions, which haply shall say, we see no other way to bring in the truth.

Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you, not the thousand part so much of your learning and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creep a-low by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help or hinder, whether they be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions; insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide

leisure, you will defer, or say (till other agree with you), 'Methink the text requireth this sense or understanding:' yea, and that if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself, in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God: my soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me ill-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply that lacketh in me; remembering that, as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority; but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

Sir, as concerning purgatory, and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you; and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts; by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you. But now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as ye were before they taught you, and believe no such thing; howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, etc. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head, and was once my scholar;

he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen: whither he is gone, an ambassador secret, I wot not.

The mighty God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him; and his is the glory. Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

I hope our redemption is nigh.

## II

[Frith perished in the flames of Smithfield in July 1534 before his book, which had been smuggled to Antwerp, could be printed. Tyndale wrote him one more letter, though it may not have reached him before his martyrdom. On this occasion he writes without a pseudonym and encourages Frith for the great ordeal.

The great business mentioned is the royal divorce. The Latin quotation is from Virgil Aeneid II, 354 (The only safety for the conquered is to expect no safety), while the Biblical references in double quotations, which are in Latin in Foxe, have been translated here. The *dies sanctae crucis* is May 3, the festival of the Holy Cross. Risalles is Lille, Luke is Liège, Roan is Rouen, and Barrow is Bergen. Demaus identifies Adrian as John Byrte. The queen is Anne Boleyn.]

The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you. Amen.

Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say that the hypocrites, now they have overcome that great business which letted them, or that now they have at the least way brought it at a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God he fulfilled, and that he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.

Dearly beloved, howsoever the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair: but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the

cause right. If when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is thankful with God; "for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love that he laid down his life for us: therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him."

Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his, immortal: and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things; and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, "They find none but that will abjure rather than suffer the extremity." Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God and all that helieve, yet is it not glorious; for the hypocrites say, 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not: but might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times: but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and mere malice together, they speak with their mouths that their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and that so strong that you shall feel no pain: and that shall be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine. Yea, and you are not yet dead; though the hypocrites all, with all they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.* To look for no man's help bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come: and when his hour is

come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

Fear not threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. "He that endureth to the end shall be saved." If the pain be above your strength, remember: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you." And pray to your Father in that name, and he will ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

Two have suffered in Antwerp *in die sanctæ crucis* unto the great glory of the gospel: four at Riselles in Flanders: and at Luke hath there one at the last suffered; all that same day. At Roan in France they persecute; and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone. Be cheerful: and remember that among the hard-hearted in England there is a number reserved by grace: for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short it be, forget it not; that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts' ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over. Amen.

If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

George Joye, at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king and another to the new queen, with a letter to N. for to deliver them; and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the bible. Out of that is sprung the noise of the new bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest that should print.

This chanced the 9th day of May.

Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.





## 2. LETTER TO THE VILVORDE PRISON GOVERNOR. THE MARQUIS OF BERGEN.

[This letter in Tyndale's own handwriting was found during the last century in the council archives of Brabant. The Latin text is given in Mozley's *William Tyndale*, p. 333 f. The translation is new. The letter is the only surviving example of Tyndale's handwriting, and dates from the autumn of 1535.]

I believe, most illustrious sir, that you are not unaware of what has been decided concerning me. I therefore beg your lordship, and that by the Lord Jesus, that if I am to stay here through the winter, you will ask the officer to be good enough to send me from my goods which he has, a warmer cap. I suffer greatly from cold in the head, and have a perpetual catarrh, which is made worse in this cell. A warmer coat too, for the one I have is very thin, and also a piece of cloth to patch up my leggings. My overcoat is worn out, and so are my shirts. He has a woollen shirt of mine, if he will be good enough to send it. Also he has my leggings of thicker material to go on top, and my warmer night caps. I am making request to be allowed a lamp in the evening, for it is tedious sitting alone in the dark. But most of all I earnestly entreat and implore you to ask the officer to allow me my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar and Hebrew Dictionary so that I may spend my time in those studies. And in return may you be granted your greatest desire, so long as it is consistent with the salvation of your soul. But if, before the winter is over, any other decision has been made about me, I shall be patient, abiding the will of God to the glory of the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit, I pray, may ever direct your heart. Amen.

W. TINDALUS.



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